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THE BRETON GLOSSES

AT

ORLEANS.

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

THE following Old-Breton glosses were found about three years ago, by Mr. Bradshaw, of King's College, Cambridge, in a Latin manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century, written by one Iunobrus, preserved in the library at Orleans, and numbered 193. When I was last in Europe, he presented me with a copy in his own hand, not only of the glosses, but of the context of most of the Latin words glossed; and I seize this occasion to express my gratitude for a generosity as rare as it is precious.

The manuscript and its contents are best described in Mr. Bradshaw's own words:—

"This Manuscript, which may be assigned to the Xth or X XIth century, contains the following pieces in a very clumsy and illiterate handwriting:

- I.—Liber ex lege Moysis; extracts from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, to be used as canons still applicable to the Christian Church. Each extract is headed K (Κάanon, canon).
- II.—A paragraph beginning "Ex Adam in diluvium..."
- III.—A paragraph beginning "Narcisus Hierosolimorum episcopus."
- IV.—Remissiones Peccatorum by Penuffius, from cap. 8 ['De diversis poenitentiae fructibus'] of No. 20 of the Collationes of Joannes Cassianus, which is headed 'De poenitentiae fine et satisfactionis indicio. Collatio xx. quae est Abbatis Pynuphii.'
- V.—A paragraph beginning "Ex Adam usque ad Ninum..."
- VI.—Four extracts about divorce, from Hermas, St. Matthew, St. Paul, and the Law of Moses.

- VII.—A piece containing in prose and verse the ‘virtutes quas Dominus dominica die fecit’.
- VIII.—An earlier scribe’s subscription beginning ‘Pro me frater oraueris’ in four rhyming lines.
- IX.—A discourse on the text ‘Discite a me quia mitis sum’.
- X.—Collectio Canonum Hibernensis; the A-text in 65 books. Wasserscheleben^a gives 67 books, but his 9 and 10 properly form one book, and his 23 is only found in the St. Gallen manuscript.
- XI.—Canons beginning ‘Si quis homicidium...,’ here called “Excerpta de libris romanis et francorum”^b.
- XII.—Canons beginning “Marina animalia,” here and commonly headed ‘Canones Adamnani’^c.

“All these pieces occur in precisely the same order, only copied by a more intelligent scribe, in the *Book of Maeloc* in Paris Ms. Lat. No. 3182, which may be attributed to the XIth century. The Orleans manuscript is very clumsily written, and some of the words are very troublesome to read satisfactorily.”

There are, according to Mr. Bradshaw, no glosses on the extracts numbered I, on the paragraphs numbered respectively II and III, on the piece numbered VII, or on the scribe’s subscription numbered VIII. But glosses are found on all the other pieces.

The glosses are 319 in number,^d but of these no less than 106 are only portions of the words intended by the glosser. Thus 35 consist of only the first two letters, 29 of only the first three, 24 of the first four, 11 of the first five, 1 of the first six, and 6 of the first seven. Similar abbreviations are found in the Old Breton and Old Cornish glosses already published by Zeuss.^e Thus, Old Breton *dadlt* (gl. curia) for *dadl-ti*, *doguomisur* (gl. geo), and *didan-*

^a *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, Giessen, 1874.

^b Printed in Wasserscheleben’s *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Halle, 1851, pp. 124–136.

^c *Ibid.*, pp. 120–123. Also (with corrections) in Haddan and Stubbs’ *Councils, etc.*, vol. ii., pp. 111–114.

^d There are, besides, seven glosses, of each of which only the first letter is written. See *infra* at Nos. 6, 10, 13, 29, 170, 199, 248.

^e See Prof. Rhys, in Kuhn’s *Beitraege* vii. 237.

nud (gl. elicio) respectively for *doguomisuram* and *didan-uudam*, *guparth* (gl. remota) for *guparthol*, *torguisi* (gl. fido, leg. pythio) for *torguisol*, and *nim* (gl. seriem) for *nimer*.^a So Old Cornish *emmeni* (gl. babtuta 'buttermilk') for some derivative from *emmenin* 'butter', *ara* (gl. aratrum) for *arater*, and *heuei* (gl. non difficile) for *heueith*.

These 106 abbreviations do not, of course, add much to our knowledge of Old Breton, but the remaining 213 glosses are of great value, not only from the point of view of the lexicographer, but also from that of the grammarian.

It may be convenient to gather together the grammatical forms presented by our glosses, and arrange them in the order followed by the *Grammatica Celtica*:—

The Noun: The plural distinguished by internal *i* (Z³. 283-284) is exemplified by *meir* 79, *cerpit* 100, *meic* 169, *commin* 232. Plurals made by external *i* (Z³. 284) are *desi* 6, *cenemi* 130. Plurals made by *ou* (Z³. 287) are *huisic-ou* 28, *dalou* 90, *diprou* 110, *testou* 184, and *neuidteruo*, *olguo*, 7, 119, for *neuidterou*, *olgou*. The adjective *occr* makes its plural (*occrou* 274) in the same way. A plural in *-iau* for *-iou* is *roiau* 222. Plurals in *-ion* (Z³. 290) are the nouns *brientinion* 183, *orion* 193, *guorcerdorion* 211, *drosion* 230, *guinion* 246, the adjectives *anscantocion* 280, *bleocion* 281, and the unique form in *-iun*, *bliniun* 210. Plurals in *-ed* (Z³. 293) are *mined* 136 and *couled* 137.

An interesting collective form (Z³. 294) is *loois* 218.

The numerals are represented by *un* in *un-blot*, 65, 66, and, perhaps, *on* 4.

Pronouns: abs. pers. pron. 1st pl. used enclitically, *docordom-ni*: suffixed pers. pron. of 2nd sg. (Z³. 380), *cent-et*, and perhaps the absolute possess. pron. of 3rd sg. masc. *e-rie*.. Suffixed possessive pron. of 1st person sg. (Z³. 389) *i-m*; of 2d person sg., perhaps *i-th* 32. Interrogative (Z³. 401) *pi co* ... 140, and perhaps *pe-i* ... 225.

Verbal particles (Z³. 425) *a dorn*.

^a Unless, as may be conjectured, *nim*, Z³. 1065, should be read *rim*. See *infra* No. 45.

Verb (Z³. 506—606) : Act. pres. indic. 3d sg. without ending or inflection : *ampar* (gl. habet), *tal* (gl. soluit) 156, *insoblin* 164, *a dorn* (gl. trituantis) 203, *gro* (gl. crocitat) 243, *dotietue* (gl. desistit) 261. With dental ending : *fleriot* (gl. redolet) 231 : deponent : *inruetir* 164. 1st pl. *docordomni* (gl. arcemus) 221 ; 2nd pl. *guotroit* (gl. demulgitis) 199 ; 3rd pl. *imguparton* (gl. se abdicant) 256.

Future : 2nd sg. *dinoti* (gl. discoperies) 25 ; 3d sg. perhaps *ni inu* (gl. non demoretur) 14 ; 3d pl. *decmint* 145.

The form *cospitiot* (gl. titubauerit) 171 seems, like *fleriot*, a 3d sg. pres., but here used with a future meaning. A like remark may be made as to *dogurbonneu* (gl. rogauerit) 52. The form *admosoi* (gl. inrogaverit) 31, may be a conjunctive.

Imperative, 2d sg. *guotric* (gl. difer) 242.

Secondary present and future : the forms *bitat* (gl. rescicaret) 165 and *erguinit* (gl. moliretur) 48, seem to belong to this tense, though the dental ending is anomalous. It does not appear in *compri* (gl. comparaverit) 303.

Preterite : the *s*-preterite 3d sg. is exemplified by *guoteguis* (gl. conpiscuit) 161, and *toreusit* (gl. atriuit) 275 : the *t*-preterite 3d sg. by the irregular verbs *doit* 307 and *arimnot* 60.

Passive (Z³. 529—531) : pres. indic. 3d sg. *aguetur* (gl. diminuitur) 244, and without the dental *testoner* 93, *dispriner* (gl. depretiatur) 248. Preterite 3d sg. *strocat* (gl. tractus est) 115.

Participles (Z³. 532) : pret. *inlenetic* (gl. interlitam) 67, *dieteguetic* (gl. distitutus) 186, *ansunietic* (?) 219, *terdeuinetic* (?) 290, *aimscudetie* (?) 22, and perhaps *dilucet* 36, and *em-gruit* 309 : future : *inaatoe* (gl. ineundum) 133.

Infinitives or verbal nouns (Z³. 535—537) are : *scarat* (gl. diiudicari) 313, *guenoc* 229, *artion* (gl. latrare) 198, (gl. pulliceri), *silim* (gl. tuitionem), *demguescim* (gl. conflictum) 38, 56, 285, *methlaom* (gl. confitari) 131.

Anomalous Verbs : *is* 'est' 153, *nit* 'non est' 133, *na-bu* 'non fuit' 219, the *t*-preterites (already cited) *arim-*

not (gl. *functus est*) 60, *doit* (gl. *sustullerit*) 307, and the participles *em-gruit* 309, and *in-aatoe* 133.

Adverbs (Z³. 615) : *introc* 113, *inmor* 154.

Prepositions (Z³. 666—698) : *di* 229, *a* 101, 109, 119, 123, 191, 238, 255, 318, *in* 250, 263, 278, with loss of the nasal before *s*, *i*, 64, with change of *i* to *e*, *en*, 7 : *dan* 195, *cant* (in *cent-et* 289), *bit panim* 'usque ad' 182.

Negative particles (Z³. 751, 752) : *ni* 13, 14, 25, 148 ; *na* 50, 219, 221, 224.

Derivation (Z³. 817—852) : of vowels, *niguid* 50 : of liquids, *air* 283, *rigl* 258, *recl* 266 : *dal* 90 : in *-ol ex -ál* : *guparol* 209, *bostol* 275 : *iecol* (leg. *iethol* ?), *eriolim* 76, *guomonim* 38, *silim* 56, *guescim* 285, *cenem* 130, *guedom* 301, *laom* 131, *limn* 51, *lon* 8, *lien* 78, *eltroguen* 20, *milin* 260, *brientin* 183, *arton* 198, *neuidter* 7, *guirhter* 190, *cerdor* 212 : of spirants, *ardotas* 263, *bues* 278 : of tenues, *clut* 220, *blot* 66, *nith* 24, 94, *scarat* 313, *guelto-guat* 305, *maciat* 308, *guiliat* 214, *guoliat* 215, *contulet* 178, *glanet* 255, *domot* 196, *gupartolaid* (-*aid* for -*aith*) 149, *haloc* 107, *bleoc* 213, 281, *guenoc* 229, *anscantoc* 280, *colioc* 247, *eleuc* 68, *iac* 59, *milintric* 179, *arap* 266, *motrep* 23.

Composition (Z³. 888—892) : Noun with noun : *aqua-lostr* 77, *teg-rann* 250, *gud-coguod* 126, *gud-uaiol* 206, *meth-laom* 131, *mun-tul* 138, *dar-leber* 296, and perhaps *bit-uer* 238 and *guelt-(t)oguat* 305. Adjective with noun : *arap-recl* 266. Adjective with verb : *trom-den(nas)* 75.

Compounds with particles (Z³. 893) : Negative particles : *an-guo* ... 173, *an-scantocion* 280, *en-bit* 172, *em-siu* 139, *em-guer* ... 141, *di-lucet* 36, *di-liu* 57, *di-combit* 250, *dis-pre-ner* 248. Particles of quality (Z². 895) : perhaps *do-red* 132. Intensive particles (Z². 895) : *guor-cerdorion* 212, *gur-limnn* 51. Inseparable particles (Z³. 897) : *at-tal* 30, *em-gruit* 309, *im-co* ... 217, *ar-cogued* 135, *ar-luth* 315, *er-guinit* 48, *er-iolim* 76, *er-dirh* 220, *er-cor* 259, *con-tulet* 178, *co-guenou* 19, *co-spitiot* 171, *co-gued* 126, *co-guelt* 284, *co-hudit(ioc)* 291, *commin* 232, *com-nidder* 24, 227, *com-elia* 228, (*di*) *com-bit* 250, *com-pri* 303, *do-cordom* 221, *di-lucet* 36, *di-noti* 13,

25, *guo-monim* 38, *guo-teguis* 161, *guo-troit* 199, *guo-tric* 242, *gu-for(n)* 10, *gu-parol* 209, *gu-partolaid* 149, *gur-prit* 95, *gur-stli(nnim)* 200, *gur-re* 273, *in-lenetic* 67, *in-aatoc* 133, *rac*144, 146.

Compounds with two or more inseparable particles (*Z.* 906—908) : *com-ar-guid(it)* 58, *tor-ensit (do-ar-e.)* 275, *dar-cenneti(c)* 17, *di-et-eguetic* 186, *du-ti-men* 44, *com-co*287, *ad-guo*151, *do-guo-louit* 80, *do-guor*37, *do-gur-bonneu* 52, *ar-im-not* 60, *ad-m-o-soi* 31, *am-s-o-be* .. 117, *im-gu-parton* 256, *do-ti-et-ue* 261, *di-im-dam-guas*... 181.

The glosses now published also throw some light on Old and Middle Breton phonetics. The chief instances in which they do so are mentioned in the Breton index and more fully in the commentary.

The following list of the more important contractions used in this commentary may be useful :—

- 'BM.' Beunans Meriasek, London, 1872.
- 'Buh.' *Buhez Santez Nonn*, Paris, 1837.
- 'Cart. Red.' Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, Paris, 1863.
- 'Cath.' *Le Catholicon de Iehan Lagadeuc*, ed. Le Men. Lorient, 1867.
- 'Corm.' Cormac's Glossary. Text, London, 1862. Translation, Calcutta, 1868.
- 'Cr.' *The Creation*, a Cornish Mystery, Berlin, 1863.
- 'D.' *Passio Domini* in Norris' Cornish Drama, Oxford, 1859.
- 'Davies.' *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae ... Dictionarium*, Londini, 1632.
- 'Fél.' *Félire Oengusso*, the Calendar of Oengus, Dublin, 1880.
- 'Horae.' Middle Breton Hours, Calcutta, 1876.
- 'Ir. Gl.' Irish Glosses, Dublin, 1860.
- 'Juv.' The Old Welsh glosses on Juvenecus, Kuhn's Beiträge. IV, 385.
- 'LB.' *Lebar Brecc*. Facsimile, Dublin, 1872, 1876.
- 'LL.' Book of Leinster. Facsimile, Dublin, 1880.
- 'LU.' *Lebar na huidre*. Facsimile, Dublin, 1870.
- 'Lux.' The Old-Breton glosses at Luxemburg, printed as Old-Welsh in the *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 1063-5.

- 'Mart. Cap.' The Old Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella,
Kuhn's Beiträge, VII, 385.
- 'MJ.' Le Grand Mystère de Jésus, ed. H. de la Villemarqué,
Paris, 1865.
- 'O'Cl.' O'Clery's Glossary. Louvain, 1643.
- 'P.' *Pascon agan Arluth*, a Middle-Cornish poem, Berlin, 1862.
- 'PB.' Poèmes Bretons, ed. H. de la Villemarqué, Paris, 1879.
- 'R.' *Resurrectio Domini*, in Norris' Cornish Drama.
- 'Seintgr.' *F Seint Greal*, ed. Robert Williams, London,
1876.
- 'Sg.' Le Chiose irlandesi del codice di San Gallo, ed. Ascoli,
1880.
- 'Skene.' The Four Ancient Books of Wales, Edinburgh, 1868.
- 'Z.' Grammatica Celtica, ed. Ebel, Berlin, 1871.

W. S.

SIMLA,
26th October 1880.



THE ORLEANS GLOSSES.

I.—LIBER EX LEGE MOYSIS.

a.—From Exodus.

1. *mi* (gl. *sopula*). The context is: "perforauitque aurem eius *sopula*" (Exod. xxi. 6). Here *perforauit* stands for *perforabit*, *sopula* for *subula*, and *mi* for *minauet* = *menauet* Cath., now *ménaoued* or *minaoued* 'an awl', W. *mynawyd*, Corn. *beneues* (Lhuyd), Ir. *menad*.

2. *guo* (gl. *industria*). The context is: "Si quis de *industria* occiderit" (Exod. xxi. 14, where the Vulgate reads 'per *industriam*'). We have here the first syllable of some word compounded with the prep. *guo*, Ir. *fo*, Gaul. *vo*^a, and cognate, perhaps, with the Mid. W. *goual* Z³. 845, now *gofal* 'cura', 'sollicitudo' (Davies), from *guo* and *mal* = Corn. *mal* 'will', 'desire', Mid. Br. *mall* 'impatience': *cleuet tros heuz ma mall ham leff*, PB. 42: *mall creff ho deveux*, 272.

3. *ar* (gl. *expetiaerit*).

4. *on* (gl. *arbitri*). The context (Exod. xxi. 22, Vulg.) is: "Subiacebit damno quantum maritus mulieris expetierit et arbitri iudicaverint". *Ar* may be the beginning of a verb cognate with O. W. *di-erchim* 'ad poscendum', W. *erchi* 'to ask', *arch* 'petitio', Corn. *arghaf* 'mando', O.Ir. *arco*, all of which have, according to Windisch (Kuhn's Beitr. viii. 1), lost initial *p* and are cognate with Skr. *praçna*, Lat. *preces*, Goth. *fraihna*. But perhaps it is the first syllable of a verb compounded with the prep. *ar*: cf. No. 312.

on is probably the first syllable of some word like **onmanerion* = the modern *unvanerien* 'arbitres', 'conciliateurs', from *unvan* (*unvan ha leal*, PB. 148; *unvanou*, PB. 275), where *un* (= W. *un*, Ir. *oen*) is the unaugmented form of the numeral found in composition (*un-liu* 'unicolor', *ung-calou* 'unicorns') Z³. 315. The

* In *Vo-bergensis*, Glück, Keltische Namen, 89.

change of *u* to *o* is found in the augmented form of this numeral in Cornish *onon*, *onan*, Z². 315, *onen*, BM. 3935.

5. *cis* (gl. *adustionem*). The context (Exod. xxi. 25) is: "*adustionem pro adustione, vulnus pro vulnere*". This seems to be the equivalent of, or cognate with, the Mid.Br. *quis*^a (now *kiz*), '*recul*', '*retour*', '*arrière*'; *kiza* '*reculer*', '*retourner*', and to mean here '*retaliation*', '*returning of like for like*'.

6. *desi* (gl. *acervos*). The context (Exod. xxii. 6) is: "*Si ignis...comprehenderit acervos frugum*". *Desi* is the pl. of *das* = O. W. *das* (*o das* gl. *acervo*, Juvencus, p. 45), Mod. W. *däs* '*acervus*, *proprie ut vulgò sumitur segetis, foeni, vel similitum*', Davies; Ir. *dais* f. gen. dire *do daise arba*, i Senchas Mór, 166, .i. it *cruaich arba*, *ibid.* 170. The A.S. *tass* is doubtless cognate, and from this, or some similar Teutonic form, comes the French *tas*^b. The umlaut in *desi* of the *a* of *das* is noteworthy. So infra, in *brientin*, *cantet*, *cep^{le}*, *cerpit*, *dar-leber* . . , *er*, *guescim* and *res* . .

Over "*dotauit*" (Vulg. *dotabit*) in the phrase "*dotauit eam*" (Exod. xxii. 16) is written *c*, which is, perhaps, the initial of some verb cognate with the modern Welsh *cynnysgaethu* (*cynnysgaeddu*, Davies) '*to endow*'.

7. *enneuidleruo* (gl. *nouorum*). The context is: "*sicut precipi tibi in tempore mesis^c (Vulg. mensis) nouorum quando egressus es de egipto*" (Exod. xxiii. 15). Here *en* for *in* is the preposition, elsewhere in these glosses *in* or *i*; and *neuidleruo* is for *neuidlerou*, the pl. of *neuidler* = W. *newydd-der* '*newness*', '*novelty*'. Here *neuid*, later *neuez* is = Corn. *newyth*, Ir. *núe*, Gaul. *novjo*, Skr. *navya*, the *j* becoming *dj*, and then *d*, as in many British words. For the umlaut in *neuid* of the *o* of **noguid*, cf. *guelcet* infra No. 234 = *colcet*, and Erneb, infra No. 286, = *Arnobius*. For the writing *uo* for *ou* compare *olguo* infra No. 119, *dadluo* (gl. *antropas*) MS. Hatton, 42, and O.W. *crummanhuo* (gl. *scropibus*) Juv. 77.

8. *lon* (gl. *adepts*). The context is: "*nec remanebit adeps sollemnitatís meae usque in mane*" (Exod. xxiii. 18). This is the Breton equivalent of the O.Ir. *lón*, *loon* (gl. *adepts*) Sg. 70 a,

^a *Oar quis* '*retro*', Cath.; *oar he quis* '*sur son recul*', PB. 255; *voar ma quis*, Buh. 12, 52.

^b It is sad to see Littré here quoting the non-existent Gaelic *tas* and the Breton verb *dastumi* '*amasser*', where *das*, for *das*, is a compound prefix from *do-at*, Ir. *do-aith*, Z². 906, 907.

^c Over '*mesis*' is written '*g*'. Mr. Bradshaw plausibly conjectures that this means '*genitive case*'.

125 a, whence *lónaichti* (gl. adipati, crassi) Ml. 20 a. I conjecture that initial *p* may have been lost and that *πλοῦτος* may be cognate.

b.—from *Leviticus*.

9. *diblo* (gl. infitias). The Vulgate here has: "Anima quae ... rem perditam invenerit et infitians insuper pejeraverit" (Lev. vi. 3). *Diblo* seems the pl., or the beginning of the pl., of some word meaning 'denial', but I cannot explain it.

10. *gufor* (gl. clibani). Context: "siue clibani siue scitropes [chytropodes 'pots with feet,' Vulg.] destruentur" (Lev. xi. 35). This seems to be the first five letters of **guforniou*, where *gu* is the common prefix *guo* (Ir. *fo*, *ύπο*), here implying diminution,^a and *forniou* is the pl. of *forn* (Corn. *forn* (gl. fornax vel clibanus), W. *ffurn*, Ir. *sorn*, a loan from the Lat. *furnus*. The meaning would then be 'small ovens', and it will be remembered that the clibanus was portable and smaller than the furnus.

Over 'scitropes' is written *t*, the initial of **trepediou* pl. of **treped*, now *trebez* 'trépied', 'ustensile de cuisine qui a trois pieds,' Corn. *tribet* (gl. andena), W. *trybedd*, all borrowed from Lat. *tripes*.

11. *eidguin* (gl. aucupio). Context: "Si uenatione aut aucupio caeperis feram" (Lev. xvii. 3). The gloss seems to stand for *eidn-guinot*, where *eidn* = *ezn* 'oyseau' Cath., Corn. *ethen*, O.Br. *etn* (in *etn-coilhaam* gl. auguro, Z². 1053), O.W., pl. *ætinet*, Ir. *én* (all cognate with *πέρωμαί*, pattrin, penna, fēdara), and *guinot* is a loan from the Latin *venatus*. So in Old Br. *guinod-roitou* (gl. plagae) Berne 56.

12. *co* (gl. indegenis). The context is: "quam de indegenis lauabit" (Lev. xvii. 15), the words 'de eodem genere' being written over 'de indegenis.' Here we have the first syllable of the pl. *coguenou*, infra No. 19.

13. *nidinoe* (gl. non discoperies). Context: "turpitudinem matris tuae non disco[o]peries" (Lev. xviii. 7). This gloss also may be completed by the aid of one lower down, No. 25. It stands for *ni dinoethi*, where *ni* is the negative particle, later *ne* (Z². 751)

^a Compare the W. *go-afael* 'a slight hold', *go-air* 'a half-word', *go-bant* 'a little dingle', *go-fram* 'a feist', *go-drem* 'a glance'. So in Irish: *fo-dhála* 1. mionchuisseanna O'Cl., *fo-dhord* 'murmur', ib. *fo-chas* 'slightly curling' O'Don. Gr. 277.

and *dinoethi* is the 2nd sg. pres. (fut.) of a verb = W. *dinoethi* 'to make bare' (Seintgr., p. 400), Ir. *dinochtaim*, Lat. *denudo* (from **de-noido*, **de-noguido*), cognate with Goth. *naqvaths*, Eng. *naked*.

Over 'feditatem' in the passage "nec reuelabis feditatem eius" (Lev. xviii. 19) is written *b*, which probably stands for **breinter* = Mid. Br. *breinder* 'putredo' Cath. cognate with W. *braen* 'rotten', Ir. *brén* (gl. foetidus). And over 'coitu' in the phrase "coitu femineo" (Lev. xviii. 22) is written *c*. The same letter is over 'coire' in the phrase "Jumenta non facies coire cum alterius generis animantibus" (Lev. xix. 19).

14. *ni inu* (gl. non demoretur). Context: "Non demoretur merces [Vulg. 'morabitur opus'] mercennarii (*sic*) apud te usque in mane" (Lev. xix. 13). As to *ni* see No. 13 supra. I cannot explain *inu*. The *-u* (for *-ui* as in *pus*- infra, No. 33) may possibly be the ancestor of the later *-o*, Z². 511, and the verb may be cognate with Ir. *anaim* 'I remain', 'wait'. Or the gloss may be an abbreviation, and the *u* = *v* may be an infected *m*, the initial of a verb cognate with Ir. *maraim*, Lat. *mora*, *moror*.

15. *frec* (gl. uabulabuntur). The Vulgate here (Lev. xix. 20) has 'vapulabunt'. *Frec* must be the first syllable of the 3d pl. fut. pass. of the O.Br. verb represented by the Mid. Br. *fregaff*, which is said to be = *hegaff* 'quaire', Cath.

16. *res* (gl. radatis). Context: "nec radatis [Vulg. radetis] barbam" (Lev. xix. 27). This seems the first syllable of the 2d pl. fut. (**resit* ?) of the verb **rasam* = Mid. Br. *razaff* 'raire', 'radere' Cath.

17. *darcenneti* :· *rā* (gl. ariolis). Context: "Nec ab ariolis aliquid sciscitami" (Lev. xix. 31). Here we seem to have the Breton cognate of the Irish *do-aur-chanim* (gl. sagio), *tairchital* 'prophetia' Z². 880, *tarchellid* 'soothsayer'. For *dar* is = *do* + *ar* Z². 906, and in the rest of the word, which I would read *dar-ennéticion*, with the accent on the second *e*,^a we certainly find the root *can*. The second *n* may be due to the accent. The modern *diougân* (= *do-guo-can*) and the W. *dar-o-gan* (*do-ar-guo-can*) are formed from the same root. The *rā*, with which the gloss ends, should, apparently, be read *rannou*, the pl. of *rann* 'rapsodie', 'morceau de poëme chanté par les rapsodes' (H. V. in Legonidec). This is the Ir. *rann* 'a quatrain'.

^a cf. O. W. *elles-h-eticion*, Mart. Cap. 8 a a, where the *h* seems due to the accent on the following syllable.

18. *loit* (gl. cano) : Context: "Coram cano capite consurge" (Lev. xix. 32). This is the Mid. Br. *loet*, Cath., Corn. *luit*, *loys*, W. *lhuyd*, Ir. *liath*, an Old Celtic **lêta*, which Rhys would connect with Skr. *palita*.

19. *coguenou* (gl. indegena). Context: "sed sit inter vos quasi indegena" (Lev. xix. 34). This is the plur. of *co-guen* = Ir. **coibin*, whence *coibnes* 'affinitas' Z^s. 788, from *con* + *fin* (also in *fin-gal* 'parricidium'), which is cognate with A.S. *wine* 'friend', O.Sax. *wini*, O.N. *vinr*.

20. *eltroguen* (gl. nouerca). Context: "et qui dormierit cum nouerca sua" (Lev. xx. 11), Corn. *altruan*, W. *elldrewyn*. In Middle Breton this word seems to have become *itronn* or *itron* 'lady', the fem. of *autrou* 'lord' = Corn. *altrou* (gl. victricus), W. *alltraw* 'god-father'.

Over 'nuro', in the passage "si quis dormierit cum nuro suo", Lev. xx. 12), is written *g*, the initial of *guhîd*, Mid. Br. *gouhes*, Corn. *guhîl*, W. *gwaudd*.

21. *col* (gl. nefariam rem, Lev. xx. 17). This is the W. *cwl*, 'culpa', 'peccatum', Ir. *col*, gen. *in chuîl* (gl. piaculi) Ml., cited by Muratori Antt. Ital. iii., col. 871. In the Collatio Canonum, Bibl. Nat. Ms. Lat. 12021 we have 'piacula .i. abscentia [leg. ob-scoena] .i. caul.

22. *aimseudeticad* (gl. reuelauerint). The context is: "eo quod turpitudinem suam mutuo reuelauerint" (Lev. xx. 17). I conjecture that this difficult gloss should be read *aimscudeticad* (gl. mutuo reuelauerint), and that it should be analysed thus: *aim-scudetic-ad*. . . The epenthesis *ai* has not hitherto been found in the older forms of the British dialects (*ei*, *e*, *i* are the current forms, Z^s. 83, 84). But it certainly seems to occur not only here, but in *comairde* infra No. 54. We may therefore regard *aim-* as a form of *im-* from *ambi*, the preposition signifying reciprocal or mutual action (Z^s. 898).

The *s* may stand for *es-*, the privative particle found in Mid. Br. *es-uesaff* 'abesse' Cath., Corn. *es-kar* 'inimicus', W. *es-garant*.

cudetic is the preterite participle passive of a verb = Mid. Br. *cusaff*, Corn. *cuthe*, W. *cuddio* 'to conceal', κεῖθω, Skr. *gudh* (from **kudh*) 'verhüllen', 'bekleiden', AS. *hýðan*, Curtius, G. E. No. 321, where also Lat. *custos* is compared. The meaning of *aimscudetic* would thus be 'mutually uncovered'.

ad is the first syllable of the verb substantive compounded with

the prep. *at*. I conjecture that it stands for *ad-oent*. Compare such phrases as *me aedoe ma hunan manet* 'sola manseram' Z^a. 542. For the writing the verb substantive as an enclitic after a pret. part. pass. cf. the Middle Welsh forms, cited by Evander Evans^a, *ry-vanagad-oed* 'had been mentioned', *a anad-oed* 'had been born', *y dyscadoed* 'had been taught', *magad-oet* 'had been bred', *defnystad-oet* 'was composed'.

23. *motrep* (gl. matertere).

24. *comnidder uel nil* (gl. amite).

25. *nidinoti* (gl. non discoperies).

The context is: "Turpitudinem matertere et amite tuae non discoperies" (Lev. xx. 19). Here *motrep* = *mozreb* Cath., now *modreb*, Corn. *modereb*, pl. *modreped*, W. *modryb*, is a derivative from the lost British representative of the Irish *máthir*, Lat. *māter*. Long o for ā is found here, as in Nos. 154, 222, 236, 274 and 311 infra.

comnidder, later *quenderu*, *quenileru* = W. *cyfnither* f. 'con-sin-german'. The same word occurs infra No. 227, where it glosses consubrinis.

nil is = *nith* (gl. nepte) infra No. 94, later *nys*, Corn. *noit*, W. *nith*, Ir. *necht*, Lat. *neptis*, and other words cited by Curtius, G. E.^a No. 342.

ni dinoti (leg. *dinoethi*) v. supra No. 13. The *o* for *oi*, or *oe*, which we find in *dinoti*, re-occurs infra Nos. 60, 98, 276. The termination *-i*, the regular ending of the Mid. Bret. 2nd sg. fut. act. Z^a. 511, is to be compared with *-i* in the present *donolouse* (gl. depro-mis) Lux.

26. *dorguid* (gl. pithonicus). Context: "Vir siue mulier in quibus pithonicus" (Lev. xx. 27). If we compare this gloss with *dar-leber* (gl. phitonicus) infra No. 296 and *tor-liberuti* (gl. phitonis-tarum) 'ventriloquisms' Ms. Lat. 12021, we see that *dor* here stands for *torr*, *tor*, *tur* 'venter', now *turs*, in Vannes *tor*, Corn. *tor*^b, O.W. *torr*^c, Ir. *tarr*, all, perhaps, cognate with Vedic *trshu* 'gierig, lechzend, verlangend' (Grassmann) and O.N. *tharr* (thuss) 'giant'.^d *Guid* stands for *guadol* = W. *gwyddol* 'scientific', a

^a *Studies in Celtic Philology*, Arch. Cambrensis, April, 1873, p. 153.

^b In *tor-cigol* (gl. uentris loca) Z^a. 1062, *tor* (gl. uenter) Z^a. 1066.

^c *tur etiam ciuitatem in torr* 'ab ulna usque in ventrem', Z^a. 1060, 691, where *turr* is misrendered 'palnam'.

^d So, as Fick (iii. 132) remarks, O.N. *fötunn* comes from *etun* 'to eat'.

derivative of the root VID. Prof. Rhys suggests that the *torguis*^a (gl. fido), *toruisiolion* (gl. fidis) of the Luxemburg glosses may be connected with our *dor-guid*. If so, 'fido' stands for 'pythio', and 'fidis', for 'pythiis'.

27. *cre* (gl. cicatricem).

28. *huisicou* (gl. papulas).

29. *inpit tar* (gl. inpetiginem). The context is: "Si fractum si [ci]catricem habens, si papulas aut scapiem uel inpetiginem, non offeretis ea domino" (Lev. xxii. 22).

In *cre* we have the first three letters of *creith*, pl. *creilhi* (gl. ulcera) Lux., later with the singulative *-enn*, *cresenn* (Cath.), now *kleisen*, W. *creithen*, Ir. *crecht*.

huisicou is the pl. of *huisicenn*, later *huysiguenn* 'ampulla', 'pus-tula', Cath., now *c'houlzigen*, W. *chwysigen*, also *gwysigen* = Corn. *gusigan*, borrowed, according to Prof. Rhys, from Lat. *vesica*. Other instances of *hu* from *v* may be *hoari* 'jouer' = W. *chwarae* (also *gwarae*), *huerzin* 'rire' Cath. = W. *chwerthin* (also *gwerthin*), *hoanenn* 'puce' = W. *chwannen*, NHG. *wanze*, and *hueurer* 'feburier' = W. *chwefror* 'February', from a low-Latin **Vebrārius*. (Rhys, Arch. Cambrensis v. 55). The Mid. Br. *hoalat* 'carpere' (cf. Lat. *vellere*) and the W. *chwa* 'aura' (root VA, Fick^a, i. 759) may also be instances of this change.

inpit must be a loan from *impetigo*, and *tar* probably stands for the adj. **tardol* = W. *tardawl* 'issuing', 'springing', cf. *tardd-wreinyn* (gl. impetigo) Davies. The Mod. Br. cognate is *tarza*.

Over 'scapiem' i. e. scabium is written *t*, which stands for **truscenn*, now *trousken* 'croûte qui se forme sur une plaie, écaille légère qui survient sur le peau', Ir. *trusci* (gl. scabium) Parker 134.

30. *attal* (gl. uicarium). Context: "Qui percuserit animal reddet uicarium" (Lev. xxiv. 18). This is the Welsh *atdâl* 'repayment' and is compounded of the particle *at-*, later *az-*, Corn. *as-*, W. *at-*, Ir. *aith-* (Z.^a 900) = Gr. *ἄτι*, Skr. *ati*, and *tal*, probably cognate with Ir. *taille* (gl. salarium), and Gr. *τέλος* 'tax', 'duty'.

31. *adinosoi*, or perhaps *admosoi* (gl. inrogauerit). The context is: "Qui inrogauerit maculam cuilibet ciuium suorum" (Lev. xxiv. 19). We have here, I think, a verb in the 3d sg. conj., compounded with three prepositions *at-in-guo*, or (if we read *admosoi*) *at-im-guo* (cf. W. *dadymofidio* = *di-at-ym-go-f*). The root is STA, here, perhaps, reduplicated as in Ir. *tair-(s)issim*. For the termination compare

^a For *tor-guisiol*.

the following Old Welsh forms cited by the late Evander Evans: *creddoe* 'credat', *guledichuy* 'dominetur', *cothuy* 'lædat', *digonwy* 'faciat', *corwy* 'amet', *rodwy* 'det', *syllwy* 'videat', *catwy* 'servet'.

32. *ipn* (gl. ualere). The context (Vulg.) is: "Si statim ab anno incipientis iubilæi voverit agrum, quanto^a valere potest, tanto æstimabitur' (Lev. xxvii. 17). This gloss is obscure. Possibly here, as in Nos. 96, 131, 315 infra, the *p* is miswritten for the A. S. sign for *th* (cf. *gurpait* gl. fusam, Lux., leg. *gurihait* gl. fusum) and the *n* should be read *u*, i.e. *v*, the vocalic infection of *b* (*barn*, *bri* ?) or *m* (*mennos* ?). The gloss would thus mean "in thy estimation,"^b and *ith*, later *ez* is the possessive pron. of the 2nd sg. suffixed to the prep. *in*, Z.² 389.

33. *pus* (gl. punderabitur).

34. *arga* (gl. obelos).

35. *ampar* (gl. habet).

The context is: "Omnis aestimatio siclo^c sanctuarii punderabitur siclus^d .xx. obelos habet (Lev. xxvii. 25). Here *pus* (for *puis* ?) is the first syllable of the 3rd sg. fut. pass. of the Old Bret. verb equivalent to Mid. Br. *poesaff* 'peser', Cath., now *poéza*. *pouéza*, W. *pwys*, loans from Lat. *pensare*. So Ir. *piess* Corm.' from *pensum*, as *cis* from *census*. Corn. *poys*, Ir. *pés* (in *pés-bolg*) are also from *pensum*.

arga stands for *argant* 'argenti', Cath., Corn. *argans*, W. *ariant*, *arian*, Ir. *argat*, Gaulish *Argento-ratum*, Z.² 845.

In *ampar* we have, perhaps, a loan from the Provençal *amparar*, *emparar* 'saisir', 'prendre', (Fr. *s'emparer*), Burguy III, 282.

c.—From Deuteronomy.

36. *dilucet* (gl. anathema). Context: "ne fias anathema" (Deut. vii. 26.) This may be the participle pret. passive of some verb compounded with the privative particle *di-* Z.894, and meaning 'to deprive of light', (W. *llug* "lux", 'lumen'), 'to excommunicate. Compare the Ir. gloss *coindel-b(á)thadh*, lit. 'candle-extinguishing', (gl. anathema) Ir. Gl. No. 845, and the ceremony of excom-

^a Manuscript, *quando*.

^b cf. the Authorized Version (Lev. xxvii. 17) "If he sanctify his field from the year of jubilee, according to thy estimation it shall stand."

^c Manuscript, *siglo*.

^d Manuscript, *siglos*.

munication described in a ms., about 1190, published by Martene.^a The root is *LUK*, Curtius G. E. No. 88.

37. *doguor* (gl. connubuerit, Deut. xxii. 28, ms. concupuerit), the first two syllables of some verb (**doguoruedam* ?) compounded with the prepositions *do* and *guor* (so *do-gur-bonneu* infra No. 52) cognate with the modern *gourves*; *gourvesa* 'se coucher', Corn. *growethe*, W. *gor-wedd* 'to lie', 'to recline'.

38. *guomonim* (gl. pulliceri, Vulg. polliceri). The context is: "Si nolueris polliceri absque peccato eris" (Deut. xxiii. 22). This is an infinitive, compounded with the prep. *guo* Z^a. 904, and cognate with the W. *gofun* 'to vow.' The gloss *guomone* (gl. territorio) infra No. 249 may be connected. The root is MAN, of which there are many derivatives in the Celtic languages. For the termination in *-im* cf. Old Bret. *diprim* (gl. essum) Lux., *hepcorim* Berne, 44, *silim*, *demguescim* infra Nos. 56, 285.

39. *din* (gl. conflatilem, Vulgate, conflatile.)

40. *er* (gl. domini).

The context is: "Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile et conflatile domini" (Deut. xxvii. 15).

Here *din* is the first three letters of *dinouet* 'fusus' Cath., W. *dinéu* 'effundere' (Davies).

er seems a loan from the Latin *herus* better *erus*^b.

IV.—REMISSIONES PECCATORUM.

41. *alo* (gl. admisorum). The context is: "admisorum scelerum remissio obtinetur". "See", says Mr. Bradshaw, "Joann. Cassiani collationes (ed. Lugd. 1606, 8vo, p. 549. The passage is said to be from Isaiah xliii, according to the Septuagint." Here *alo* may stand for the pl. of the past participle (*aloiseti* ?) of a verb = W: *allwys* 'effundere' (Davies.)

42. *moid* (gl. finicum). The context is: "Etsi fuerint peccata uestra ut finicum ut nix dealbabitur". Here for 'fincum' (*i. e.* phœniceum 'purple-red') the printed copies have 'coccinum', as in Isaiah i. As to *moid* I conjecture that it is the beginning of a

^a Twelve priests stand round the bishop with lamps or torches in their hands, and after the conclusion of the sentence they cast them on the ground and stamp out the light beneath their feet.—Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 641.

^b Brugman in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xxiii. 95. It stands for **esus* (the fem. *esa* = *era* actually occurs).

word which (like Sp. *meliga*) comes from the Lat. *melissa* "a kind of clover". *Trifolium pratense* "red clover" (?). Other Old Breton examples of *ri* from *i* are *Flav-lav*, *Blav-mavin*, *Blav-riac*. Z². 97, and see No. 15 supra.

43. *ma* (gl. labius).

44. *datimen* (gl. exquoquitur).

The context is: "Nominquam misericordiae et fidei merito labis exquoquitur [leg. labes exquoquitur] uitium". Here *ma* are the first two letters either of **mael* = Lat. *macula*, W. *magl*, or of **maus* = W. *maus* "a spot" (gl. *maus*, Seintgy. 269), cognate with, or a loan from, the Latin *macula*.

datimen for **datimener*? seems, as Mr. Bradshaw suggests, connected with the *datimen* (gl. decre-scit) of the Luxembourg glosses. The *t* may stand for an infected *d*, and the Latin *diminuo* (whence *diminuaf*, Cath.) is either cognate with, or the source of, both the verbs just quoted. The modern Welsh *diffans* 'despicable', 'dwindling', may, as Prof. Rhys says,* be connected.

V.—THE PARAGRAPH 'EX ADAM USQUE AD NINUM.'

45. *ri* (gl. summa). The context is: "Summa autem ab Adam usque in Silliconem anni .v. milia. cc. //ccc. lxxxii. Here *ri* stands for **rim* = W. *rhif* 'numerus', O.-Ir. *de-rima* 'enumero', from a root-form *rā* = *ār* in O.-Ir. *áram*, Curtius G. E. No. 488. For long *i* from *ā*, cf. *blis* No. 210 infra = Skr. *glāna* (Bugge), *ri* = Skr. *riji* and see No. 165 infra.

VI.—THE FOUR EXTRACTS ABOUT DIVORCE.

FROM HERMAS.

46. *ir* (gl. quatinus). The context is: "Interrogauī deinde eum et dixi ei domine quatinus pro patientia tua". I cannot explain this gloss. Mr. Bradshaw refers to Hermae Pastor (ed. Cotelierius in the Patres Apostolici) Mand. 4, sect. 4: 'Domine quoniam patienter me audis, etiam hoc mihi demonstra'.

IX.—'DISCITE A ME QUIA MITIS SUM'.

47. *goul* (gl. conpescat). The context is: "Vitamque nostram a prauitate conpescat." This also is obscure to me.

* *Revue Celtique*, i. 161.

X.—THE COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS.

48. *erguini* (gl. molirentur). The context in Wasserschleben (i. 5) is: "Porro episcopus non ab uno, sed a cunctis comprovincialibus episcopis ordinetur, ne aliquid contra fidem unius tyrannica auctoritate *moliretur*". This is a verb in the 3d sg. pres. conj. act. compounded with the prep. *er* from *ar*, Z.¹. 900. Compare *er* (gl. mollimur) infra No. 127. The root is *VAN*, whence A.S. *winnan* etc. Fick¹ i. 768. For the termination in *it* compare *toreusit* infra No. 275, and the Irish forms in *-ed*, *-id* Z.¹. 445. Another example of the same tense and person, but apparently belonging to a different conjugation, is *bitat* (gl. resicaret) infra No. 165.

49. *siel* (gl. signaculum). The printed context is: "Datur ei (sc. episcopo) annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum, ne indignis quibusque sacramenta Dei aperiantur" (i. 6). Here *siel* (like W. *sêl*, Ir. *seula*) is a loan from Lat. *sigillum*, with the regular loss of *g* between vowels, which we shall find in *aatoe*, *brientinion* infra Nos. 133, 183, and in the loanword *straal* No. 194. It is spelt *syel* in PB. 245. The Catholicon has, more accurately, *siell*.

50. *na niguïd* (gl. non neophitum). The context is: "Nemini cito manus inpossueris. Idem [scil. Paulus, 1 Timoth. iii. v. 6] Non neophitum" (i. 7). Here *na* is the negative particle used dehortatively (Z.¹ 752), and *niguïd* (from **noguid*), later *neues*, is = Corn. *newyth*, O.W. *neguyt* Z.¹ 128, now *newydd*, Ir. *núc*, Gaul. *novios*, Lat. *Novius*, Goth. *niu-ji-s*, Skr. *navya*, the *d* regularly representing *dy*, where, as often in Greek, the *d* is a parasitic growth before *y* (j). See Rhys, *Revue Celtique*, ii. 115, Curtius G. E.⁵ 522 *et seq.*

51. *gurlimnn* (gl. diliniti).

52. *dogurbonneu* (gl. rogauerit).

The printed context is: "Nunc vero saepe cernimus, plures ordinationem facere, non quos ecclesia elegit, sed quos vel ipsi amant vel quorum sunt officiis deliniti vel obsequiis, vel pro quibus malorum quispiam rogaverit" (i. 7). The former gloss may either mean 'very smooth', or may stand for *gurlimnnetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb compounded with the prep. *guor*, Z.¹ 905, and the Breton equivalent of the Welsh *llyfnu* or *llyfnâu* 'to smooth', a derivative of the adj. *llyfn* = Ir. *slémain* 'lubricus' Z.¹ 777, root SLI, Curtius G. E. No. 557.

do-gur-bonneu is compounded (like the verb supra No. 37) with the two prepositions *do* and *guor* (= Ir. *do-for-*, *tór-*). The *b* is, I suspect, written for an infected *m*, and if so, the verb may be compared with the W. *gofyn* 'to demand', 'to ask', Corn. *govynnadow* 'a demand'. If the *b* is original, compare the Old Irish *at-boind* 'he proclaims, inhibits', *ad-bonnar* i. *urfogarthar*, O'Don. Supp. to O'Reilly's Dictionary.

53. *es* (gl. *honestatis*). The printed context is: "Hujus sermo debet esse ... plenus gravitatis et honestatis" (i. 8). This must be only the first syllable of some word, perhaps *estim*, cf. "estimaff g. estimer cuyder, l. estimare Cath. *ne raff estim*, MJ. 232b.

54. *comairde* (gl. *colligam*, leg. *collegam*). The printed context is: "Ut episcopus in ecclesia consessu prespiterorum sublimior sedeat; intra domum vero collegam se prespiterorum esse cognoscat" (i. 10). The same, or a similar, word occurs in No. 97: *comarde* (gl. *collegium*). It seems a loan from some early form of the French *camarade*, which was originally, according to Diez (s. v. *camerata*), a collective (as in No. 97), but was afterwards (as in No. 54) applied to a single person.^a The *ai* in *comairde*, an umlaut of *a*, is highly remarkable in Breton. See *aimseudetec* supra No. 22.

55. *tiguotrou lou*—ms. *ti guo trou lou*—(gl. *supellectilem*). The context is: "Ut episcopus vilem supellectilem ... habeat" (i. 10). Here, as in *htigutre* (gl. *utensilia*) infra No. 71, the *ti* is = *τέρας*. Ir. *leg*, *tech*: *guotrou* (leg. *guotreou*?) seems the pl. of *gutre* = Corn. *gutra*, in the gloss *gutra hel*^b (gl. *suppellex*). In *gu-tre*, *gu-tra* we have, perhaps, the common word *tra* 'res' compounded with the prep. *guo*, here (as in No. 10 supra) implying diminution.

lou . . . must be either a substantive in the genitive or an adjective agreeing with *tiguotrou*. If the latter conjecture be right, the gloss is intended for *vilem* supellectilem and *lou* stands for **louocion*, (now *laouéim*, pl. of *laouek* = W. *lleuog* 'lousy') and probably means 'viles'.

56. *silim* (gl. *tuitionem*). The context is: "Ut episcopus tuitionem testamentorum non suscipiat" (i. 10). This is cognate with the Mid. Br. *sellet* 'tueri' Cath., Corn. *sylly*, W. *sylwi*,

^a Compare the Eng. *fairy* etymologically = Fr. *féerie* and the Ir. *munter*, which generally means 'household', but in Féil., May 11, Aug. 9, in LU. 134, in LL. 109^b, and in Cormac, s.v. *prull*, certainly means 'servant'.

^b The ms. has *guihel* with what seems an *a* written over *t*: *hel* (gl. *aula*).

syllu 'to observe', Ir. *sellad*. For the termination *-im* see above, No. 38.

57. *diliu* (gl. fuscetur). Context: "ut nulla religionis reverentia obscuritate fuscetur" (i. 13). Here *di-* (as in *di-lucet* supra, No. 36, *di-combit*, infra No. 250) is the common privative particle, Z.² 894, and *liu* is 'color', W. *lliw*, Corn. *liu*, *lyw*, Ir. *li*, cf. Lat. *liveo*, *livor*, *lividus*. Perhaps the gloss is only the beginning of a verb.

58. *imcomarguid* (gl. expertus sum). The printed context is: "quem prae ceteris hominibus expertus sum Deum colentem" (i. 14). The gloss seems to mean 'in my experience': *im* (later *em*, Z.² 672) being the preposition *in* with the infixed possessive pronoun of the first person singular, and *com-ar-guid* (for *comarguidit*) being = W. *kasuarwydyt* 'historia' Z.² 906, now *cyf-ar-wyddyd*. Compare the Cornish lowenna tekca gothfy ihesu ov map *kevarwouth* vgy warnaf ow pygy 'the fairest joy thou knowest make my son Jesus experience, who is praying unto me' D. 1043-4.

59. *iac* (gl. suspit). The printed context is: "De eo quod elegit episcopus successorem ipso vivente et sospite" (i. 17). Here *iac* stands for *iach* = *yach* 'sanus' Cath., Corn. *iach* (gl. sanus), W. *iach*, cognate with Ir. *icc*, Gr. *ιάουαι*, Skr. *ishayati* 'strengthens', 'refreshes' (Fick 1^a. 509). Our *iac* for *iach*, accordingly, stands for **isacca*. Other instances in these glosses of *c* written for *ch* are *meic* No. 169 and *maciat* No. 308.

60. *arimnot* (gl. functus est). The context is: "Narcissus, qui prius ibi functus est pontificatus officio" (i. 17). I take this to be compounded with the prepositions *ar* and *im*, and to stand for *ar-im-gnoeth*, just as *dinoti*, supra No. 25, stands for *dinoethi*. If so, we may compare the Welsh *gwnaeth*, *gwneuth* 'fecit', Z.² 579, 195, 3d sg. pret. act. of *gwnaf* = Ir. *gníim*.

61. *ender* (gl. evidentissimis, i. 17—ms. eidentis simis). This seems to stand for *en derch* 'in view', W. *drych*, Ir. *derc*. See infra No. 220.

62. *guasco*. This is written in the margin opposite the line ending 'vitae deces-', in the following title: "De eo quod debet electio bonorum post obitum observari et in exitu vitae decessoris episcopi" (i. 18). It is probably intended to gloss 'exitu vitae', and stands for *guascolenn* = the modern *gwaskaden* 'défaillance', 'évanouissement'.

63. *er* (gl. preluit). Printed context: "et postea Laudicensi

ecclesiae praefuit” (i. 19). This is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *ar-*, *er-*, Z². 900. So infra No. 82, *er* (gl. *preerant*).

64. *isoudan* (gl. in *hebitudinem*, i. 20). The *i* is of course, with loss of the liquid, the preposition *in* (as in *ihēporim* Berne, 44, and Old Welsh *hi hestaur* Z². 117), and *soudan* is the Mid. Br. *souzan* ‘surprise’, ‘étonnement’, ‘frayeur soudaine’ PB. 265, connected with *soez* ‘stupor’ Cath., *soezaff* ‘stupere’, Corn. *sawithenys* ‘surprised’, D. 610, and all borrowed from the Latin *subitaneus* or *subitare*, “re quāpiam insolita et subitanea percelli, expavescere,” Du Cange.

65. *unblot* (gl. *similaginem*, ii. 7).

66. *unblot* (gl. *simila quæ* — leg. *similago*, ii. 7). Here *blot* (now *bleud*, *bled*) is ‘flour’; W. *blawd*; but the *un-* is obscure. Can the cardinal *un* ‘one’ be used here instead of the ordinal first, the first or finest flour? Davies, I see, renders *similago* by *eil-blawd*, ‘second flour’, cf. Old Corn. *bloteit* (gl. *spumaticum*) Z². 1061, *blot* (gl. *farina*) Z². 1080. Cognate with Corn. *blodon* (gl. *flos*), O.Ir. *bláth*, the Latin *flos* and other words mentioned by Curtius G. E⁵. No. 412.

67. *inlenetic* (gl. *interlitam*). The printed context is: “quæ ... euangeliorum mola, *inter litteram* et spiritum separat” (ii. 7), and the glossographer has taken the scribe’s blunder (*interlitam* instead of *inter litteram*) for the past participle passive of *interlino* and translated it accordingly. Our gloss is compounded of the prep. *in* (Z². 905) and *lenetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb cognate with Ir. *lenim* ‘adhaereo’, Lat. *lino*, Gr. ἀ-λίνειν ἀλείφειν Hesych. and other words quoted by Curtius, G. E. No. 541. The termination *-etic* (now lost in Breton, though kept in Welsh) occurs also in *dieteguetic* infra No. 186, *hanter-toetic* Lux., *ulgurthconeti(c)* Berne, 58, *deh-louetic* MS. Lat. 12021: a plural *craseticion* occurs in Lux. Ebel compares Latin adjectives, such as *dediticius*, *facticius*, *suppositicius*, but there the *i* before *c* is short.

68. *eleuc* (gl. *vitulae*). The printed context is: “Si sanguis vitulorum et hircorum et cinis vituli aspersus redemit peccata hominum” (ii. 8). The gloss is on the margin with reference-mark. It seems cognate with W. *elain* ‘cerva’, Ir. *elít* ‘capeolus’, Gr. ἑλαφος. The termination *-euc* ex *-ác* is peculiar.

69. *nedo* (gl. *erant*, leg. *erunt*). The first letter of the gloss, is, says Mr. Bradshaw, not clear. The printed context is: “Primitie

omnis populi Israel sacerdotis erunt" (ii. 11). I conjecture that the first letter is *u*, and that the gloss stands for *uedont*, *bedont* or later *bezont*, *vezont*. Compare *maz vezont scuys* 'tant ils seront lassés', PB. 266.

70. *lau* (gl. pectusculum). The printed context is: "Pectusculum et armum dextrum tuli a filiis Israel" (ii. 11, citing Num. xviii. v. 18). As *lau* means 'hand' (O. W. *lau* Z³. 117, now *llaw*, Corn. *lof*, *léf*, Ir. *lám* = *palma*, *παλάμη* Curtius, G. E. No. 345); this must be the first part of a compound, the second part of which means 'breast'. Compare the Irish *do ucht na dernainne* (gl. pectusculum), literally, 'to the breast of the palm'.

71. *htigutre* (gl. ut tensilia, leg. utensilia, ii. 11). This gloss has been already noticed, supra No. 55. The prefixed *h* is also found in *hguet* No. 180, *hgurstli*, No. 200. It may perhaps be a mere reference-mark.

72. *intoint* (gl. quesitus). The printed context is: "sicut is, qui invitatus rennuit; quesitus refugit sacris preesse altaribus" (ii. 13). Mr. Bradshaw is not sure of the third letter, whether *c* or *t*. I conjecture that it is *c*, and that *incoint* means 'questus', for which the glossographer has mistaken the 'quesitus' (*i. e.* quaesitus) of the ms. Should this be right, we have here not only the old form of the definite article, but the Old Breton cognate of the O. Ir. *cáiniud* (now *caoineadh*) from *cáinim*, W. *cwyno*, Mid. Br. *queiniff*, Cath., now *keini*.

73. *gur* (gl. ultro). The printed context is: "sic is qui ultro ambit ... procul dubio repellendus" (ii. 13). Here *gur* (for *guor*), Corn. *war*, *oar*, Ir. *for*, from *u(p)ar* = Gr. *ὑπέρ*, Lat. *s-uper*, Skr. *upari*, is the first syllable of some adverb to me unknown.

74. *guir* (gl. sedatium). The context is: "sedatium communis (leg. commune) si modicum fuerit, respui non debet (ii. 15)". The Latin word seems to mean 'pretium sepulchri'. The Breton stands, perhaps, for *guirth* = W. *gwerth* 'price', Corn. *gwyrrthy* 'to sell', Goth. *vairths*, Eng. *worth*.

75. *tromden* (gl. peruolavit). The printed context is: "Mox ad eum Liguntius, divina expertus beneficia, pervolavit" (ii. 24). The gloss is obviously, like Old W. *cein-micun* Z³. 892, compounded of an adjective and a verb: *trom* is = the modern *trum* 'prompt', 'diligent', 'expéditif'. See infra No. 265. The *den* may stand for *dennas* (where *d* is an infected *t*) from *tenna* 'tirer', 'retirer', *en-em-denna* 'se retirer', Corn. *ym-denne*.

76. *eriolim* (gl. editui). The printed context is: "levite a quinquagesimo anno custodes sacrorum habebantur in lege: sic et in novo aeditui ecclesiarum in senectute sunt" (iii. 5): *eriolim* seems cognate with W. *eiriol* 'intercedere', 'exorare', (Davies). For its formation cf. *cenemi* infra No. 130.

77. *aqualostr* (gl. aquiminilem).

78. *lien* (gl. manutergium).

The context is: "De manu vero archidiaconi accepit urceuleum [leg. accipit urceolum] cum aqua et aquiminilem [leg. aquamaniilem], id est scipum [leg. scyphum] et manutergium" (iv. 3). Here *aqua-lostr* is a hybrid compounded of the Latin *aqua* and the Br. *lostr* (leg. *lestr* ?) 'vase', 'vessel', *lestr* Cath., Corn. *lestar* (gl. navis), W. *llestr*, Ir. *lestar*.

lien (also in Cath.) = W. *lliein*, Z². 823, now *lliaîn* 'lin-teum', 'mappa', Corn. *lien* in *lien dui-lof* (gl. manutergium vel mantle), *lien gueli* (gl. sindo) pl. *lyynnyou*, Ir. *lín*. These words are doubtless connected with *λίον*, *linum*, and the Homeric *λίτι*, *λίτρα*; but the root must be *l̥*.

79. *meir* (gl. actores, templi, vi. 1). This is the pl. of *maer* = Corn. *mair* (gl. praepositus), *maer buit* (gl. dispensator), O.W. *merion* (gl. actores). The modern Breton *maer*, according to Legonidec, *mear* or *maer*, pl. *meared*. The Ir. equivalent is *maer* pl. *maeir* 'stewards', acc. *maeru*, O'Don. Gr. 84, all borrowed from Lat. *major* 'a house-steward'.

80. *doguolouiſ* (gl. redegit). The printed text has: "sic exorcista redigit in sua diligentia totius regni Domini secreta" (vi. 1). This is a verb in the 3d sg. pres. indic. act. compounded with the prepositions *do* and *guo* Z². 907, like the verbs *do-guo-misur(am)*, *do-guo-renniam*, *do-uo-louse* Lux. The root, perhaps, is *lu*, Curtius G. E. No. 546. For the termination cf. *do-diprit*, *acupet* Lux. In Welsh, according to Evander Evans^a, this ending occurs only in absolute (and uncompounded ?) verbs.

81. *di* (gl. inergominum, leg. energuminum, vi. 2). The Cornish gloss *sach diavol* (gl. demoniacus) = W. *sâch diawl* suggests that we have here the beginning of the Old Breton word corresponding with *dyaul* 'le diable' Cath.

82. *er* (gl. preerant, vii. 1). See above No. 63.

^a Studies in Cymric Philology, *Arch. Cambrensis*, April 1873, p. 146. He cites *enghit* 'escapes', *pereid* 'remains', *trengid* 'perishes', *triciid* 'starves', *gyvid* 'grows', *chwareid* 'plays'.

83. *an* (gl. suggestionem). The printed context is : "ad suggestionem archidiaconi tradat ei episcopus claves ecclesiae" (vii. 3). So infra No. 86, *an* (gl. suggestionem), No. 85; *anno* (gl. sugerendum); and No. 162 *anno* (gl. persuadendum). These fragments of words are clearly connected with the Mid. W. *annoc* (yr hunn aoed yn eu hannoc wy, Seintgr. p. 296) now *annog* 'hortari', 'suadere', 'incitare', *annos* 'incitare', 'instigare', and perhaps with the Old-Irish *andud*, **ad-annaim* (*ad-r-andad* Féil. April 5, B).

84. *incan* (gl. triforium, ix. 1). For the meaningless 'triforium' the printed text has 'ceroferarium' (candlestick, taperbearer) in the following context : "ab archidiacono accipiat (scil. acolytus) ceroferarium cum cera ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiae luminaria mancipari" (ix. 1). I take our gloss to stand for *in cantoeller*, where *in* (for *inn*, *ind*) is the article (No. 72 supra) and *cantoeller* now *cantoler*, is = W. *canhwyllyr* 'candelabrum' (Davies), a derivative from **canhwyll* borrowed, like Corn. *cantuil*, from a low Latin **cantēla* for *candēla*.

85. *anno* (gl. sugerendum). The printed context is : "accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad sugerendum vinum in eucharistiam" (an empty pitcher to furnish wine for the eucharist) ix. 1. See above No. 83.

86. *an* (gl. suggestionem). The printed text has "per successionem generis" (ix. 2), but the scribe and glosser seem to have meant *suggestionem*, as in the quotation supra No. 83.

87. *coson* (gl. canora). The context is : "Vox autem eius non aspera, nec rauca vel dissonans sed canora (printed text : clara) erit" (ix. 2). Our *coson*, like W. *cyson*, is borrowed from the Lat. *consonus*, the *n* disappearing before *s*, as in *isoudan* supra No. 64, *cosoin* infra No. 304, and in *musur* 'mensura', *cusul* 'consilium', Z². 117.

88. *eules* or *eulev*,—Mr. Bradshaw is not sure which—(gl. medoliam). The Latin word should, of course, be 'melodiam'. The printed context is : "habens sonum et melodiam sanctae religioni congruentem" (ix. 2). Our gloss seems cognate with the modern W. *eilod*, *eilw*, *eilyw* 'music', 'melody', as *cusin* is = W. *eisin* and *douo-louse* is connected with W. *llais*. As *eu* is the umlaut of *au* (Z.² 107), the Gr. αὐλός, αὐλήμα (root *A V*) may be connected. The Old Welsh pret. part. pass. *ellesheticion* (gl. mela) in Mart. Cap. 8, a *a*, seems to come from a different root.

89. *eli* (gl. redoleat, ix. 2). The context is: "neque musica vel theatri arte redoleat". The glossographer seems to have believed in some connection between *redoleo* and *oleum*, for *eli* means 'unguentum', *elio* 'ungere'. For other instances of his crass ignorance, see *supra* No. 67 and *infra* Nos. 95, 191, 220, 228, 309, and the note to No. 118.

90. *dalou* (gl. andronas, x). This gloss stands for *dadlou* or *daslou*: cf. *dadluo* (gl. antropas, leg. andronas) Bibl. Bod. Ms. Hatton 42, *dadlou* (gl. curiae) Cotton Ms. Otho E. xiii., pl. of *dadl* (gl. concio) Eutychn. 3^d. 8^a. Corn. *dathel* in *dathel-wur* (gl. concionator), O. W. *dall* (gl. foro), Ir. *dál*. The Latin word glossed is the acc. pl. of *andron* 'compitum, locus publicus ubi viri, οἱ ἄνδρες, invicem confabulantur, Ducange.

91. *cormo tar*. This gloss is written in the margin, but without a reference-mark. The context is: "Clericus inuidens fratrum propectibus [printed text: profectibus] donec in hoc uitio est, degradetur" (x.) Here I conjecture that *cormo* = *cormo* (gl. emulamenti, i. e. emolumenti?) Lux., that *tar* is (as *tor* in No. 26 *supra*) 'venter', that the gloss means 'advantage, or indulgences in diet', 'relaxations in fasting', and that it is intended to translate 'provectibus'.

92. *doiluf* or perhaps *doilux* (gl. promens). The context is: "Clericus inter epulas cantans, fidem utique non aedificans, sed auribus tantum promens^a excommunis sit" (x. 1). I suspect that *doilux* is the right reading, and that this stands for *doilus*, just as the name *Dilex* (Cart. Red., p. 333) is for *Diles*^b, and is a loan from the Latin 'dêlicias', which the glossographer supposes to be understood after 'promens'. I cannot, however, account for the *u*.

93. *testoner* (gl. inebitabili). The printed context is: "Clericus qui indictum jejunium rumpit absque inevitabili necessitate, vilior habendus est" (x.). This seems to be the 3d sg. pres. indic. pass. of a verb = the modern *testenia* 'témoigner'. The meaning, of course, is that evidence is given that the necessity was inevitable. Compare *testou* *infra* No. 184, and for the termination *dispriner*, *infra* No. 248.

^a The printed text has 'pruriens', another reading is 'placens'.

^b And to go further back, *Comus Caelestis* for *Comus Caelestis*, Rhys' *Lectures* 188, 189-204; *milen, xancto* for *miles, sancto*, Corssen i. 297, 298.

94. *nith* (gl. nepte, x). See above, No. 24.

95. *gurprit* (gl. superstitiose). The printed context is: "hoc carnale delictum, quod committunt, etiam vindicare quadam superstitiosa temeritate nituntur" (xi. 5). The glossographer mistakes 'superstitiose' for 'superstite', for *gur-prit* is compounded of *gur*, *guor* 'super', Z.³ 905, and *prit* = Corn. *prit* (gl. hora), *prys*, W. *pryd* 'time', cognate, perhaps, with Skr. *krt* in *sa-krt* 'once'.

96. *guerp* (gl. stigmatē). The context is: "illico stigmatē lepre percussa est" (xi. 6). This may, possibly, be the Breton equivalent of the Ir. *ferb* i. *bólc docuirithir for aigid duine iarn áir no iar ngúbreth* 'a blister that is put on one's face after a satire or a false judgment'^a, Cormac. But more likely here, as in No. 32 supra and Nos. 131 and 315 infra, the *p* is miswritten or misread for the A. S. *th*. If so, we may compare W. *gwarth* 'reproach', and the Latin *vereor*, *verenda*, Curtius, G. E. No. 501. *

97. *comarde* (gl. colligium). The printed context has: "extra collegium sanctae ecclesiae septem annis proiciatur" (xi. 6). See above, No. 54.

98. *cot* (gl. agresti). The printed context is: "et agresti melle pascebatur" (xii. 2). Here *o* stands for *oi* or *oe* as in Nos. 25 and 60 supra, and our gloss is the first syllable of an adjective **coetoc* = Mid. Br. *coadec* Cath., W. *koedawc* 'sylvester' Z.³ 849 now *coedog*, derived from *coat* 'nemus' Cath., Corn. *cuit* (gl. silva), Ir. *ciad*, in *ciad-cholomb* 'wood-dove', Lat. *bu-cētum*, and Goth. *haiithi*.

99. *ar* (gl. coibere). The printed context is: "Nihil prodest cohibere exteriorem hominem, et interiorem damnare" (xii. 4). The gloss is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *ar*, Z.³ 900, which like Ir. *ar*, *air*, W. *ar*, *er*, *yr*, Gaul. *are* in *Aremorica*, has lost initial *p*, and is cognate with *πάρος*, Skr. *puras*,^a Goth. *faúra*, *faúr*, Eng. *for*.

100. *cerpit* (gl. vehiculis, xii. 5). This is the pl. of the Breton equivalent of W. *cerbyd*, which is borrowed from Ir. *carpat*, **carpet*, which again comes from Lat. *carpentum*.

101. *amor* (gl. fastu). The printed context is: "Multi clericorum jejunant fastu superbiæ ex propriis suis nihil largientes egenis"

^a Compare Theocritus xii. 24 (ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὑπερθεὶν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω) and Fritzsche's note.

(xii. 7). Here *a* may be the prep. used to indicate the ablative and *mor* (now *meur*) 'great', the first syllable of some compound. See *in-mor* infra No. 154.

102. *scal* (gl. carduumque. xii. 8). This gloss is exactly the W. *y-sgallen*. The Cornish *astellen* (gl. card[u]us and Mid. Br. *ascolenn* 'chardon' have an initial *a*, which I do not understand.

103. *ie* (gl. curatusque). The printed context is: "Curat vulnera delinquentis abstinencia, curatosque sanctificat jejunium" (xii. 9). Here *ie* is the first two letters of *iecheticon*, pl. of the pret. part. passive of a verb (now *iac'haaf*) derived from *iach* supra No. 59.

104. *ar* (gl. arduam).

105. *distrū* (gl. austeram).

The context is: "Hic vitam arduam et austeram gerebat" (xii. 15). Here *ar* seems the beginning of some word cognate with Ir. *ard*, Gaul. *Arduenna*, Lat. *arduus*, and *distrū* (for *distrith*^a) is a loan from Lat. *districtus* 'strict', 'severe'. So *stris* Cath. comes from *strictus*.

106. *acomloe* (gl. insolubile). The printed context is: "De abstinencia insolubili a cibis statuunt Romani, ut Christi adventus sponsi nullas nostri jejunii leges inveniat" (xii. 15). This gloss is in the margin with a reference-mark, but I cannot help thinking that it is a gloss on 'statuunt'; that we should complete it thus: *acomloent*, and that we should compare the Luxemburg gloss, *imcobloent* (gl. apocant *i. e.* collocant). The root (as Prof. Rhys has pointed out, Rev. Celt. i. 373) is *lagh*. If our gloss really renders 'insolubile', we must read *ancomloe* (with the negative prefix) and compare Ir. *legad* 'dissolutio', W. *llewic* 'animi deliquium' Z². 848.

107. *haloe* (gl. lugubri). The printed context is: "Quidam puer moriens visus est matri non una vice in veste lugubri sitiens et esuriens" (xv. 6). Our gloss means 'foul', and is = W. *halawg*, Ir. *salach* (gl. sordidus): cf. also Corn. *halou* (gl. stercora'), Ø. Ir. *sail* (gl. labe) Sg. 52 a. 4, and the OHG. *salō* trübe. Other instances of Breton *h* from *s* are *hir*, *hun*, *hep* and *hent* Z². 123.

^a A trace of the original (genital?) *s* has been observed in Irish by Prof. Bugge, who brings *errack* 'spring' from **persāka* and compares NHG. *frübling* and Danish *for-aar*.

^b Compare *nit*, *dinoti*, *arimnot* supra Nos. 24, 25, 60, and *gupartolaid*, *arton* infra Nos. 149, 198, for *nith*, *dinoethi*, *arimnoeth*, *gupartholaid*, *arthon*. So Corn. *bruit* for *bruith* Z². 151, *guhīt* for *guhith*.

108. *pre* (gl. *instanter*). Context: "Quodcunque potest manus tua facere, instanter operare" (xv. 8). This seems the first syllable of an adverb cognate with Mid. Br. *presant* 'presens' Cath., W. *presennol* 'instans'.

109. *adis* (gl. *aspersione*). Printed context: "testamentum redemptionis iniquitatum populi aspersione sanguinis animalium" (xvi. 12). Here, as in No. 101 supra, *a* is the preposition indicating the ablative. The *dis* may be the first syllable of some word like **discaïn* or **disceiniat*, cognate with W. *caen*, *ysceiniad* 'aspergo', or like **disperfa* cognate with the modern *sparfa* 'asperger'.

110. *diprou* (gl. *acitamenta*, xvii. 11). The context tells how one of the sons of an artifex (smith?) "dedit acitamenta eius in oblationem ecclesiae". In MS. Hatton 42 'acitamenta' (i. e. acutamenta) is explained by the Br. *cl[o]ou* 'clavi'. But our *diprou*, if rightly read, is the pl. of *dipr* = the modern *dibr* 'saddle', pl. *dibrou*, W. *dibr*, and the glossographer here seems to have blundered.

111. *soeul* (gl. *fiscum*).

112. *er* (gl. *conpetita*). The printed context is: "Etiam illud hac lege sancimus, ut si quod domus vel agri vel quaelibet praedia ex bonis christianorum ac parentum nostrorum preceptis ad *fiscum* sociata fuerint, si qua etiam ab aliquo *conpetita* sunt ... haec omnia in jus antiquum revocari precipimus" (xvii. 15).

Here *soeul* is = W. *swllt* 'solidus', 'thesaurus', 'fiscus' (Davies), Corn. *sols* (gl. pecunia) from Med. Lat. *solta* Z². 154' *soldus* for *solidus* (nummus), whence also Ital. *soldo*, Sp. *sueldo*, Fr. *sol*, *sou*. The triphthong *oeu* is curious. Should it be *oue* = the *ue* of *sueldo*?

er is the first syllable of some verb to me unknown.

A little after this comes a passage beginning "Transamundus uandalorum rex", and over the last syllable of "uandalorum" is written *gua*. This probably stands for **guandal* or **guannal* = 'Vandalus'.

113. *l. introc* (gl. *obnixe*). The printed context is: "Quidam clericus in aliena ecclesia moriens illic sepultus est, propinquis vero ejus corpus petentibus non est dimissum, sed *obnixe* retentum est" (xviii. 7). The meaning of the gloss seems 'vel *obnoxie*', for *introc* may be = *int-droc*, an adverb formed (like W. *yn ddrwg* 'male') from the prefix *int* = *avri* and the adj. *droc*, later *drouc*, Cath. = W. *drwg*, Ir. *droch*. Compare the Cornish *inta* 'bene' from *int-da* Z². 200.

114. *beb* (gl. *tumuli*). The printed context is: "cum vero peccata

gravia deprimunt, non ad absolutionem, sed ad maiorem damnationem tumuli in ecclesia ponuntur" (xviii. 8). The ms. probably has *dep* (see No. 32 supra) a mistake for *beth*, *bed*, the first syllable of **bediou*, now *beziou* pl. of *bed*, now *bez*, Corn. *beth*, W. *bedd* 'sepulchrum', cognate, according to M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, with Lat. *fossa* from *fodio*.

115. *stroat* (gl. tractus est). Printed context: "Nocte media cum tumultu ab ecclesia alligatus pedibus tractus est" (xviii. 8). This is the 3d sg. pret. pass. (Z². 531) of some verb to me unknown, but possibly connected with Ir. *srengaim*, Lat. *stringo*, Gr. *σπαγγεω*, Curtius G. E. No. 577.

116. *aco* (gl. adeundis). Printed context: "De alienis provinciis adeundis ad iudicandum" (xx. 5). Here *a* may be the preposition indicating the ablative, and *co* the first syllable of some verb.

117. *amsobe* (gl. fingunt).

118. *iecol* (gl. alieni gena). The printed context is: "Judices sunt quindecim.....septimus gentilis in sua gentilitate, ut Deorum iudicium Minervae et Neptuni de contentione regionis apud Cecropem actum cronica^a fingunt; octavus alienigena, ut Moyses consilium ab illo Jethro, alienigena cognato suo suscepit" (xxi. 2). Of these glosses I can make little as they stand. The *am-* in the former may be the negative prefix (supra No. 22), the *s-o* relics of the two prepositions *es* and *guo*, with which the verb is compounded: the *be* for *bent*, 3rd pl. pres. indic. act. of some verb cognate with *φημι*, *fāri*, *fā-bu-la*, and Ch. Slav. *ba-ja-ti* 'fabulari' Curtius G. E.⁵ No. 407. If so, Irish cognates appear in the following text and gloss: *do-donair-b iar cetul chreth* i. *do-don-as-bénand iar cantain a ái* .i. *a éicis* 'who presents himself to us after chanting science i. e., who appears to us after singing his *ái*, that is, his poetry', Dialogue of the Two Sages, LL. 186. b; O. Ir. *ad-bo* i. *urfocraim* 'I proclaim and *o-baim* (ex *od-baim*) 'I prohibit' belong to the same root.

I conjecture that *iecol* may have been misread or miswritten for *ietol*, i. e., *iethol* (see No. 105 supra, note), a derivative from *ieth*, Cath., *ies* now *ies*, 'dialecte', 'idiome', W. *iaith* 'lingua, dialectus, idioma' (Davies), from **yakti*, which Siegfried connected with the O.H.G. *jehqn* 'fateri, affirmare' (Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, iv. 668) and Glück with the Gaulish river-name *Iactus*^b and the Latin *jacio*. Should this conjecture be right, our gloss would

^a This word is glossed by *pl i. e. proprium nomen*!

^b I believe there is a river *leithon* in Breconshire.

properly mean ἰδιόγλωσσοι, and may well be used for ἀλλόφυλοι.

119. *a olguo* (gl. indagatione). The context is: "Tribus modis iudicibus iudicandum, natura, hoc est indagatione rerum et similitudine precedentium et ex verbis scripturae" (xxi. 6). Here *a* is the preposition indicating the ablative and *olguo* for *olgou* (see No. 7, supra) is the pl. of *olg* = *ol* (gl. indago) infra No. 132, *ol* (gl. polici) Lux. now *eul*, *heul*, W. *ol* 'vestigium', Corn. *ol*, *ooll*, Cr. 1763, pl. *olow*, *allow* Cr. 1748. All cognate (as Prof. Rhys suggests) with O.H.G. *folgon*, N. H. G. *folgen*, A.S. *folgian*, O.N. *fylgja*, the original *p* having been lost in the Celtic forms. For the loss of *g* after *l* cf. W. *bol* = Ir. *bolg*, Gaulish *bulga* 'saccus' and *hel* 'venari' = Ir. *selg*.

120. *im* (gl. iurgiorum, xxi. 7). This is probably the first syllable of the Br. cognate of W. *ymsen* or *ymserth*.

121. *am* (gl. e diverso, xxi. 7.) I cannot explain this.

122. *nac tu* (gl. nec ... adquiescas). The context is: "Non sequeris turbam ad malum faciendum, nec in iudicio adquiescas sententiae plurimorum" (xxi. 10, citing Exod. xxiii. vv. 2, 3). Here *nac* (later *na*, Z.² 753) is the particle used in expressing double or multiplex negation, and *tu* is the first syllable of the 2d sg. conjunctive of a verb = the modern *tuat* 'prendre partie', from *tu* = Ir. *thið* 'side'.

123. *aolo* is written without a reference-mark, opposite the line "De perverso iudicio non faciendo temere" (xxi. 11). Mr Bradshaw conjectures, with much probability, that it refers to 'iudicio', and compares the gloss *aolguo* (gl. indagatione) supra No. 119.

124. *arlu* (gl. proibuit). Printed context: "non prohibuit iudicandi facultatem" (xxi. 11). This gloss, is, no doubt, a fragment of a verb cognate with *arluth* (gl. pedicam) infra No. 315. It probably stands for *ar-ludas*, 3d sg. pret. act. of the Breton equivalent of W. *ar-luddias* 'to intercept', 'to hinder', which Prof. Bugge connects with Skr. *rodha* 'obstruction', (root *rudh*), Zend *aparaodhayēiti*.

125. *fan* (gl. uolubiles). The printed context is: "Non oportet iudices ecclesiae volubiles esse" (xxi. 12). The same word glosses the singular 'uolubilis' infra No. 299, and the *fan* in No. 125 doubtless stands for *fanion*. We may, perhaps, connect this word with Goth. *spinnan*, *spann*, for a Breton *f* occasionally comes from *sp*: thus *felch*, σπλάγχνον, Ir. *selg*, *faezaff* 'vincere' (Skr. *spas*), *fasyaff* 'spatiari'.

126. *gudcogued* (gl. reprehendendi). Printed context: "De quatuor principalibus modis reprehendendi (var. *var. iac. pervertendi*) iudicium (xxi. 13). This seems to gloss 'pervertendi iudicium' and to be a compound of *gud* = W. *gwydd* 'knowledge' (also in *gud-waiol* infra No. 256) root *nid* 'to know', and *cogued* (leg. *cogued*?) in *arcogued* 'noxa', 'laesio' infra No. 135.

127. *er* (gl. molimur. leg. molimur) : see above No. 48.

128. *di* (gl. discutit, xxi. 14).

129. *do* (gl. dispenset. leg. dispensat xxi. 14).

In these three glosses we have the first syllables of verbs respectively compounded with the prepositions *ar*, *di*, and *do*.

130. *cenemi* (gl. causidicorum, xxi. 15). This is the plural of a derivative from *cen* = Corn. *chen* (gl. causa), *ken* in the common phrase *hep ken* 'without cause'.

131. *meplaom* (gl. confitari). Printed context: "cum errorem suum senserint confutari" (xxi. 15). This is an infinitive in *-om*, of the *ā*-conjugation, like *denokiznom* and *linom*, Lux. In the first syllable of the word, as in Nos. 32, 96 supra and No. 315 infra, the *p* seems miswritten for A. S. *th*, and the *meth* which we thus attain is the Old Breton form of the Mid. Br. *mezz* 'honte', 'uergoygne' Cath. Corn. *meth*, W. *méth* 'a miss', 'abortion'. The *laom* is the infinitive of a verb cognate with Ir. *leam* 'I drive', 'cast', Gr. ἐλάω, Curtius G.E. No. 661. Our gloss would thus mean 'to put to shame.'

132. *ol dored* (gl. indago disputationis, xxi. 15). As to *ol* v. supra No. 119: *dored* may be = Ir. *doraidh* 'strife', 'dispute', O'Reilly. "Rofitir ingen.....an *doraid* (ms. an *dodoraid*) tarraid coiculaind isindaichisin", LU. 112a. The Greek *δῆρις* (*δηρίσασθαι*), which Bopp would connect with *δέρω*, Skr. *dāra*, Goth. *ga-taira*, Eng. *to tear*, can hardly be cognate. More likely we have here a compound of the particle of quality *do* (= *δύς*) and *ret* = W. *rhed*, Ir. *rith* 'cursus'.

133. *nitinaatoe* (gl. non ineundum est, xxi. 21). In *nit* (= W. *nid*) we have a combination of the negative *ni* and a fragment of the verb substantive, and *in-aatoe* is = the prep. *in* + the fut. part. passive of the irregular verb *monet* 'ire', of which the present (*af* for *aaf*), the preterite (*aez*) the future (*ahy*), the secondary present (*ahenn*), the imperative (*aet*), and the pret. participle pass. (*aet*) are from the root AG. In *aatoe* (ex **agatoe*), as in *siel* supra No. 49, the *g* is lost between vowels. Cognate are *ἄγω*, Skr. *ajāmi*, Lat. *ago*, (), Ir. *alom-aig* (*ad-dom-aig*) 'adigit me'. For the termination

-*atoe* compare the Old Breton names *Benitoe*, *Portitoe* Z^s. 532, Corn. *caradow*, *casadow*, W. *caradwy*, Skr. -*latiya*.

134. *acom* (gl. disceptantes, xxi. 21). I cannot explain this.

135. *arcogued* vel *iniquos* (gl. *niciuas*, xxi. 26). The context is: "De iudicio clericorum ut non sit apud *niciuas*." This '*niciuas*' (for which the printed text has '*iniquos*') seems a mistake for '*nociuos*,' and our *arcogued* may stand for *arcoguedolion*, pl. of **arcoguedol*, a derivative from **arcogued* = W. *argywedd* 'noxa', 'laesio', Davies. The Ir. *erchóit* 'noxa' appears to be cognate: so *arachoat* 'quod nocet' Ml. 31d; *co arcóí* (gl. ad nocendum) Ml. 46d.

136. *mined* (gl. *minas*, xxiv. 1, citing Eph. vi. 9.), pl. of *min*, a loan from the Latin *mina*. That these so-called plurals in -*ed* were originally collectives is maintained by Prof. Rhys, Rev. Celt. ii. 117, 118, who cites the Old Bulgarian use of the fem. *bratija* 'brotherhood' as the plural of *bratŭ* 'brother'. As British *d* often comes from *dj*, and this from *j*, we may compare not only *bratija*, but Greek *δωρ-ιά*, *άνθρακ-ιά*, *μυμμηκ-ιά*, *νεοττ-ιά*, and Skr. *gav-yā* 'a number of cows', Curtius, G. E.^s 609.

137. *couled* (gl. *oculum*). Context: "Non ad oculum servientes" (xxiv. 2, citing Ephes. vi. 6). I suppose this to gloss *ad oculum servientes*, and to be the pl. of **coul*, cognate with the modern *koulen* 'lapin', and possibly also with Corn. *coloin* (gl. *catulus*), W. *colwyn* Ir. *culian*, Gr. *σκύλαξ*. But why eye-servers should be called by any such word, is not clear. Cormac's absurd etymology of *culian* (*cú lenas cach* 'a dog that follows every one', 'a canine eye-server' or 'obsecutor') may perhaps give us a hint.

138. *muntul* (gl. *lenticulam*). Printed context: "Samuel lenticulam olei accepit et fudit super caput Sauli" (xxv. 1, citing 1 Reg. x. 1) This is = the *montol* (gl. *trutina*) of the Euty chius glosses, Z.^s 1054, Old W. *menntaul* (gl. *balance*) Mart. Cap. 12 b. a., now *montol*, as to which see Z.^s 84, 766^s. Glück, K.N. 44—47, connects the Gaulish names *Cata-mantaloedis* (which he renders by 'aequalibilis'), *Mantala* and *Petro-mantalum*. But I suspect that our *muntul* is a compound of *mun*, Skr. *māna* 'maass', (Curtius G.E.^s No. 461) and *tul* ex *tāl*, connected with *τάλαντον*, *tolayāmi*, *tollo*, ibid. No. 236.

139. *emsiu* (gl. *abitionis*). This must be the 'abusionis' of the printed text, "Nonus abusionis gradus est rex iniquus" (xxv. 3):

* M. de la Villemarqué cites an Old French *si* 'tare, default' (*sans nul si* = Br. *hep si*), as to which I can find nothing in Diez, or elsewhere.

Here as in No. 141 infra, *em-* seems the negative prefix *am-* Z². 893-4, and No. 22 supra, the *a* being infected by the following *i*. As to *siu* it seems connected with W. *sywino* 'to turn or use continually', Ir. *soud* (gl. conversio) root *su*, whence Latin *sucula*.

140. *pico* (gl. qualiter). The context is: "sed qualiter alios corrigere potest, qui proprios mores, ne iniqui sint, non corrigit?" (xxv. 3). In *pi* we have the old form of the Mid. Bret. interrogative pronoun *pe*, Z². 401, Corn. *py*, Ir. *cia*, = Lat. *quis*, Umbr. *pi-s*, Gr. *ti-s*. In *co* we probably have the beginning of some word like **cogued* = W. *cywedd* 'conformity'.

141. *emguer* (gl. piacula). Printed context: "Propter piacula regum...semina eorum ne regnarent, extinxit Deus" (xxv. 3). I cannot explain this gloss. Possibly it stands for *emgueredou*, pl. of a compound of the negative prefix *am* and *guêred* for *guîred* (Z² 99): cf. W. *an-wiredd* 'iniquity,' pl. *amwireddau*.

142. *pis imfer* (gl. pythonistarum). The printed context is: "magorum et pythonissarum et auguriorum superstitionibus non intendere" (xxv. 4). With *pis* I would connect the Corn. *pystyk pystry* 'witchcraft,' *pvstryor* 'wizard', and the Irish *pisqc* (*pisóc*) of which the n. pl. occurs in a gloss on the Senchas Mór (Laws, i. 180): *Fuba n-imda* .i. *pisoca isin lepuidh* "charms in the bed". (to render a man impotent?), and again *fromadh felmais* .i., *fromadh na pisoc* 'to prove the enchantments'. The Mid. Br. *pistigaff* 'laedere' and *pistri* 'veneficium' may also be connected. The second word, *imfer*, is obscure. It may possibly stand for *imfernus* = the mod. *ifernuz* 'infernal', W. *uffernol*. The *im* before *f* is perhaps a mode of writing the nasal vowel; cf. the Gaulish *om* in the Poitiers inscription RATIN BRIVATIOM FRONTU TARBEISONIOS IEVRV.

143. *tros* (gl. tyrannide). The printed context is: "Multo melius est pauci temporis legitimum regnum tyrannide longi temporis" (xxv. 7). *tros* must be the first syllable of the Breton cognate of W. *trawsedd*, *trawsder* or *trawsineb* 'oppressio', 'iniquitas' (Davies), a derivative from *traws* = Lat. *trans*.

144. *rac* (gl. proferebat). The printed context is: "Surrexit Judas Galileus, qui asserebat eos ...tributa non reddere" (xxv. 91). This gloss is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *rac* Z². 678, 679, Corn. *rag* in *rag-leueris* 'antedictus', W. *rhag*. Compare the Br. *rac-loriou* (gl. proscenia) Berne, 28, and the gloss *rac* (gl. obtimantes, i.e. optimates) infra No. 146.

145. *decmint* (gl. *adecimabit*). Printed context: "sed et segetes vestras et vinearum reditus addecimabit" (xxv. 12). If correctly copied this must be the 3rd pl. (a mistake for the 3rd sg.) of a Breton verb equivalent to the W. *degymmu* 'addecimare', *decum*, *degum* 'decimae' Z^s. 821, Corn. *dege*, Ir. *dechmad*.

146. *rac* (gl. *obtimantes*). The printed context is: "et increpavi optimates et magistratus" (xxv. 14). See above No. 144.

147. *er* (gl. *celebrae*). The printed context is: "hujus inter omnia celebre dictum fertur, perdidisse diem, in quo nihil boni fecisset" (xxv. 14). This, no doubt, is the first syllable of *erdirch* 'conspiciuus' = *erdirh*, infra No. 220.

148. *ni diglo* (gl. *non deglobare*). The printed context is: "Boni pastoris est pecus tondere, non deglobare" (i.e., *deglubare*, xxv. 16). *Ni* is the negative particle and *diglo* is borrowed from the Latin word which it renders. The *b* is vocalised as in *soudan* No. 64 supra.

149. *gupartolaid* (gl. *priuilegia*). Context: "cum privilegia singulorum non possint legem facere communem" (xxvi. 3). This seems to be a derivative from **guparthol*, ms. *guparth* (gl. *remota*) Lux., pl. *gupar* (*tholion*) gl. *remotis*, infra No. 208, and cognate with the verb *imguparton* (gl. *se abdicant*) infra No. 256. I take our gloss to stand for *gupartholaiithou*, pl. of **gupartholaiith*, where *-aiith*, later *-acz*, *-ez*, is = Corn. *-aid* (in *ruifanaid* 'regnum', *medhecnaid* 'medicina'), later *-eth*, O. W. *-aid* (in *utolaidou* gl. *natales*), later *-aiith*, *-aeth*, Ir. *-acht* ex *-acta*, Z^s. 846, 847. The groundform *gu-parth* is, of course, from the prep. *guo* and *parth*, which is either a loan from the Lat. *pars* or, as is more probable, = Ir. *scert*, *scart*, *cerdd* in *descert* (*des-scert*) = W. *deheu-barth* 'south' *túai-scert* 'the north', *dí-scart* *din inn-ecin fil fornd*, LU. 63 b, *cerdd chuind* ('Conn's part', the northern half of Ireland, usually *leth Cuinn*) Amra Choluimbchille, 130—all from the root SKARD, Rhys, Rev. Celt. ii. 333—334.

150. *com* (gl. *sortiendum*). The printed context has: "non viribus sortientium et maxime ethnicorum (xxvi. 3)". This is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *com* Z^s. 902.

151. *adguo* (gl. *secuit*). Context: "Finees meretricem cum viro suo una secuit, ut cito mortem finirent." (xxvii. 5). Here we have the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the prepositions *at* and *guo*, Z^s. 907.

152. *er* (gl. *moliuntur*, xxvii. 8). See above, Nos. 48, 127.

153. *is*. This word, the third sg. of the verb substantive, is written over the second *a* of 'uanitas' in the phrase "ista uanitas est" (printed text "Quae est vanitas ista" xxvii. 8). 'Est' is written with the usual contraction, so may (says Mr. Bradshaw) have been overlooked by the scribe. *Is* (= Ir. *is*, est, *ἔστί*) occurs often in Old Welsh Z.^a 553. It seems the Corn. *es*. The Mid. Br. *eus*, Corn. *eus*, *us* appear to be different words.

154. *inmar* (gl. *maius*). The printed context is: "quamvis multo rarius (xxvii. 9)", and I suspect that our gloss is intended to translate 'multo'. It is, like the Ir. *inmar* (gl. *magnopere*), *inmaire* 'bigness', compounded of the particle *in*, Z.^a 615, 616, supra No. 113, and *mor* (*már*), whence O.Br. *der-morion* (gl. *inormia*) Lux., Corn. *maur* (gl. *magnus*), W. *mawr*, Ir. *már*, Gaul. *māros*.

155. *sce* (gl. *discertam*). The printed context is: "a cetero corpore discerptam manum (xxvii. 9)". This gloss seems the first three letters of the pret. part. pass. of the verb equivalent to the modern *skéja* 'couper' = *squeiaff*, Cath., *hanter squeiget* 'demy coupé' Cath. As the lingual sonant spirant *j* (written *i* and *g*) often comes from *t* (*egenn* 'ox' = W. *eidion*, *eureugou* 'nuptials', pl. of *euret*, *nigal* 'to fly', W. *neidio*, and the loanwords *rouejou* O.Br. *roitou*, = *retia*, *pinigen* etc.), we may, perhaps, connect *skeja* (O. Br. **scetam*) with Goth. *skathjan*. For possible Greek and Skr. cognates—*κτείνω*, *kshati* etc.—see Curtius, G. E. No. 77b.

156. *tal* (gl. *solut*). The printed context is: "Cain primus homicida vii vindictas solvit" (xxvii. 10). Here *tal* is the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of a verb = W. *talu*, Corn. *taly*. Compare the noun *at-tal* 'repayment' supra No. 30. In Mid. and Mod. Br. the root is compounded with *bout*: *talvout* 'valoir'.

157. *guo* (gl. *motulavit*). The context is: "Zacharias...novem mensibus motulavit", i.e. *mutulavit* 'remained dumb' (xxvii. 11). This is the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *guo*.

158. *gu* (gl. *prodens*, xxvii. 20). This may be the first two letters of some form of the verb equivalent to the modern. *gwerza* (*gwerzaff*, Cath.) 'vendre', 'livrer', 'trahir', W. *gwerthu*, *vendere*. Compare *guir*, No. 74.

159. *coel* (gl. *aruspice* xxviii. 10). This stands for *coelioc* (*colioc*, infra No. 247) Corn. *chuillioc* (gl. *augur*), whence *cuil-lioges* (gl. *phitonissa*), O. W. *coiliauucc* (gl. *augur*) Mart. Cap. 2.

a b., all derived from *coil*, (O. W. pl. *o coilou* gl. *auspicii*) Z^a. 1657, Ir. *cél* = O. N. *heill* 'omen', 'auspiciu'. See infra No. 293.

160. *crap*. This is written in the margin, without a reference-mark, opposite 'a conuiuio chatolicorum separetur. De aeclisiae reos obstinanter non defendente' (xxviii. 11, 12). I think this must mean 'a prohibition'. Davies has (s. v. *cráff* 'harpago' 'fibula', Fr. *agrafe*) an 'Arm. *crapaf* 'anchoro': (leg. 'anchorare') cf. Corn. *grabel* 'a grappling-iron', Fr. *grappin*, Eng. *grapling*. Legonidec has *kraban* 'serre'. The Welsh cognate is *crap* 'raptio', 'prehensio', Davies. The Irish *grabbad* .i. *bacúil no tairmesc* 'a stopping or prohibition', H. 3. 18,^a p. 51 *b*, seems to suggest the meaning of our gloss. All appear connected with the Ital. *grappare* and the other Romance words which Diez⁴ 172, brings from O.H.G. *krapfo*. To *crap* belong the Mid. Br. *scrap* (= *ex-rap*) 'objet d'un rapt' PB. 243, and *scrapat* 'to scrape', Cath.

161. *guoteguis* (gl. *conpiscuit*). The printed context has: "Christus male facientes in templo flagellis conpescuit et ejecit" (xxviii. 13). This is the 3rd sg. s-preterite of a verb compounded with the prep. *guo*, and the O. Br. equivalent of Mid. Br. *tevell* 'tacere', W. *tewi*. Compare the O.Br. *taguel* in *taguel-guiliat* (gl. *silicernium*) Eutyck. Z^a. 1053 = Corn. *tewel*, W. *tawel*, Ir. *tó* (1.) 'silent', (2.) 'silence' (*fearr tó labhra*, O'Cl.), from the root *tus* Fick³ 1. 602, Skr. *tushyati*. Our gloss seems to mean 'he put to silence (by scourging) the evildoers in the temple'. The termination *-is* (swallowed up in Middle Breton by the commoner *-as*) is = the Corn. *-ys*, W. *-is*, infecting the preceding vowel, Z^a. 523.

162. *anno* (gl. *persuadentum*). The printed context has: "Non ad reorum defensionem facta est ecclesia, sed iudicibus persuadendum (xxviii. 14)", and Mr. Bradshaw says that "this *-sum* for *-dum* is very common in most of the Brittany mss. I have seen." See as to the gloss Nos. 83, 85 supra.

163. *gud*. This is written, without a reference-mark, opposite the line "De eo quod intersit [leg. idem sit apud Deum] utrum parvum an magnum quis furatur" (xxix. 2). This seems intended to gloss 'furatur' and is possibly connected with the Old

* A manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Br. *di-dan-nud* (gl. elicio), Z². 1052. The root may be VADH whence *adieu* etc. Curtius, G. E². No. 324.

164. *inruetir* .i. *insoblin*. Written in the margin, without a reference-mark, opposite the words in the following passage beginning with 'utilitates' and ending with 'juve-'. "Vacca quoque quatuor utilitates habet, immolatur, consolatur senes, nutrit juvenes, arat in Palestina" (xxix. 4). If we regard *soblin* as written for *somlin*, as *imcobloent* in the Luxemburg glosses is for *imcomloent*, we may, I think, refer our gloss to 'consolatur'. *Insoblin* would then be the 3d sg. pres. indic. of a verb meaning 'instimulat', compounded with the prep. *in* and derived from **soml* = O. Corn. *sumpl*^a (gl. stimulus) Z². 1062, W. *suml*, both borrowed from Lat. *stimulus* or rather **stunulus*. The other word *inruetir* seems a deponent, also in the 3d sg. pres. indic., meaning 'incitat', compounded with the preposition *in*, and radically connected with W. *rheu* 'to move', *rheuedd* 'activity', Nhg. *regen*.

165. *bitat* (gl. resicaret). The printed context is: "Nam Salomon ... addit tria super legem, ut resicaret vitia populi" (xxix. 5). This must be a 3d sg. secondary present conj. act., like the Irish forms in *-ath*^b, *-ad* Z². 445. Compare for the dental termination *erguinit* supra No. 48. Radically *bitat* seems connected with the W. *bideg* 'ensiculus', 'gladiolus', 'sica'. Davies, which is, I suspect, (like the Ir. *bith* 'a wound' O'Cl., *ro-bith* 'he slew' LU. 58^a) connected with Skr. *ghata*, the *b* coming from *gr* as often.

166. Vinniaus dicit (xxix. 8). "The printed text," says Mr. Bradshaw, "from the St. Gallen ms., has Vinnianus. All the Brittany mss. have, the older ones 'Vinniaus', the later ones 'Vinniaus'. The Cambrai ms. (8th century) has 'Vinniaus'. So also the Vienna ms. The name 'Vinniau' occurs in the Redon cartulary as 'Vinniau' or 'Viniau' and in the invocations in the Breton litanies as 'sce. Guiniaue'."

167. *tal* (gl. dependunt). The printed context has, rightly, 'dependunt'. "Quicumque filii a parentibus suis causa divini cultus abscedunt, nec debitam reverentiam dependunt, anathema sit" (xxxi. 15). Here *tal* stands for *talant*, 3d pl. pres. indic. act. of the verb, whence comes *tal* (gl. solvit) supra No. 156.

168. *brat*. This is written opposite the following passage from

^a For the insertion of *p* in *sum-pl*, cf. Latin *cu-m-pium*, *tem-plum*.

^b *co formoluth bith*, Tripartite Life, Oxon. (Rawl. B. 512) 163a.

Numbers xxvii.: "Filiae Selphat ... accesserunt ad Moysen ... dicentes: pater noster mortuus est non habens filios, ... cur privamur hereditate ejus?" (xxxii. 19). This is the modern *brad* 'trahison', 'tromperie', Corn. *bras*^a, W. *brad*^b, O. Ir. *mrath* Ml. 1, 33d, ar in *mrath* (gl. pro prodicione) Ml. col. 301, *mrathemnachtae* (gl. iniquae simulationis) Ml. 133 a. *conu-merad* (gl. ut proderetur) Ml. 24c. The Old French *barat* (whence Eng. *barratry*) is, apparently, of Celtic origin. The rise of *br* from *mr* is also exemplified by *bro* = O. Ir. *mrug*, cognate with *margo*, *marka*, etc.

169. *meic* (gl. ratas).

170. *ra* (gl. stimulationes).

The printed context is: "Auctores ecclesiae hic multa addunt, ut feminae heredes dent ratas et stipulationes, ne transferatur hereditas ad alienos" (xxxii. 20).

Here *meic* is written for *meich*, the pl. of *mach* = W. *mâch* 'vas, vadis, praes, fidejussor, sponsor, adpromissor, vid. an hinc *mech-diern*' (Davies), Corn. *myghtern*. *Mach* is, doubtless, as Davies suggests, the first element of the well-known Old Breton title *macht-ternn*, which occurs in Cart. Red., p. 6: 'Ermor episcopus, Mach-ternn in Poutrecoett'. Compare also the Old Welsh *di-guor-mechis* ('testatus est') Z.³ 907.

ra (like *rad* infra No. 177) stands for *radou*, pl. of **rat* = Ir. *rath* 'surety'. Borrowed, apparently, from Lat. *ratum* in phrases like *ratum aliquid facere, habere, ducere*.

Over 'dent' in the passage just quoted is written *g*, which probably stands for the 3rd pl. pres. conj. act. of *guervell* 'appeler' Cath., now *gervel*.

171. *cospitiot* (gl. titubaverit). The printed context is: "Heredes mortuorum sic judicentur: si alter habuerit testes, adhibeat, si non habuerit, aetas videnda et nobilitas et ordinatio et ratio: si autem titubaverint, aut sorte aut veritate...aut a iudicibus veris,...interpretentur (xxxii. 23)". *Co-spitiot* is compounded with the prep. *con*, Z.³. The termination resembles that of the present indic. *steriot* infra No. 264, but is here used with a future meaning: so W. *beidy-awt* 'he will challenge' Skene ii. 307, W. *methawd* 'it will fail',

^a The *vn carn y fue teulys par may cothas yn ow bras*, 'to a rock he was cast so that he fell into my perfidy,' R. 2333, 2334, where Norris renders *bras* as if it were *brus* 'judgment'.

^b Hence Mid. W. *bratwr* 'proditior', Z.² 828 and *bradouc* (gl. insidiosus), Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 423.

ymchoelawd 'it will turn' Z^a. 516, *bidhawt* 'erit', *gwasgarawt* 'will scatter', Evander Evans, Arch. Camb., April 1873. The simple verb is, like the W. *yspeidiaw* 'to make an interval', a denominative from **spil* = Corn. *spys*, W. *yspaid*, borrowed from Lat. *spatium* 'a space of time'. The Mid. Br. *espet* (*en berr espet* 'in brevi spatio' PB. 82) is from the low-Latin *espatium*.

172. *enbit* (gl. debilis). Context: "De debitis dimittendis illi, qui debilis est aut inops" (xxxiii. 3). This must, I think, be the W. *ynfyd* 'stultus, insanus, ineptus, demens, amens', Davies, Ir. *oinmid* (gl. sotus). If so, the *b* of *enbit* is written for infected *m*, as, possibly, in *dogur-bonneu* supra No. 52. The privative particle here used resembles the Irish *in-* Z^a. 860.

173. *anguo* (gl. inequalitatem, xxxiii. 3). The *an-* is, of course, the negative prefix, see infra Nos. 219, 280. The *guo-* is the beginning of some word like **guostatid* = W. *gwastadedd* 'aequitas'. Compare the W. *anwastadrwydd* 'inaequalitas' (Davies), and the modern Breton adverb *goustad* or *gwestad* 'doucement', 'tranquillement'.

174. *guos*. This is written in the margin, without any reference-mark, opposite the first seven words of the following passage "Disputatio Romana dicit. Quatuor comitantur debita, ratae (ms. rate), stipulationes, testes idonei scriptio" (xxxiii. 4). The gloss *guos* (gl. ratas) infra No. 185 shows that our *guos* refers to 'ratae'. It doubtless stands for *guostlou* = the modern *gwestlou* 'gages', pl. of *gwestl*, Corn. *gwistel* (gl. obses), W. *gwystl*, from **ved-ila*, cognate with *ἄ-Feθ-λον*.

175. *erie* (gl. pernoctavit). The printed context is: "si pauper est, non pernoctabit apud te vestimentum ejus" (xxxiii. 10, citing Deuter. 24. v. 12). I suspect that this is a gloss on 'vestimentum eius' rather than on 'pernoctavit (-abit?)'. If so, the *e* is the possessive pron. 3rd sg. masc., Z^a 386, but the *rie* ... remains obscure. Can it stand for *rei* (as *uo* for *ou*, supra Nos. 7, 119) the first three letters of **reit* = W. *rhaid*, Mod. Br. *ret* now *rét*, *réd* 'needment', Corn. *reys*?

176. *molin* (gl. molam, xxxiii. 10). This is Mid. Br. *melin* Cath., now *milin*, Corn. *melin* (gl. molendinum), W. *melin*, Ir. *muilend*. All apparently borrowed from Lat. *molendinum*.

177. *rad* (gl. stipulationes, xxxiv. 6). See No. 170 supra.

178. *contulet* (gl. colligas). The printed context has: "Inter collegas suos" (xxxv. 4). This is apparently the same word as

the *cuntullet* (gl. collegio) pl. *cuntelletou* (gl. collegia) of the Luxemburg ms., as to which see Z^a. 901 and Rev. Celtique 1. 362, Corn. *cuntellet* (gl. congregatio vel concio) Z^a. 901, 1068, Mid. W. *kynnullaw* 'colligere'.

179. *milintric* (gl. stupris). The printed text has: "si quis-piam adulterae conjunctus perpetuam cum ea permanendi fidem polliceatur; tolerabilius est sacramentum non implere quam permanendi (*sic*) in stupri flagitio" (xxxv. 5). This probably stands for *milintrinsic* (or *-iou?*), pl. of **milintric*, a derivative from *milin* (gl. prostitutam) infra No. 260, of which the pl. *milinon* (gl. libosas, leg. libidinosas) occurs in the Luxemburg glosses. Compare the Old Breton names *Milon*, *Milun* in the Redon Cartulary. The root seems *mil*, Fick³ i. 173, whence *μειλια*, the Lith. *meilūs* 'lovely', and other words cited by Curtius G. E. No. 464.^a

The suffix *tric* may perhaps be compared with the Lat. *tricio* in *meretricium*, etc.

180. *nguet* or *hguet*—Mr. Bradshaw is not certain which—(gl. secundum). The printed context (xxxv. 5) is: "Tria iuramenta solvenda sunt, primum, cum quis male facere jurat...secundum, cum quis incaute jurat non pufans peccatum.....tertium: si mulier, &c."

The true reading must be *guet*, and it is a loan from Med. Lat. *vadium*, or possibly Mhg. *wette*, and means 'juramentum'. As to the prefixed *h*, see above, No. 71. The second element in the name *Mor-uet*, Cart. Red. may be cognate.

181. *di im dam guas* (gl. se.....contrixerit; leg. constrinxerit).

182. *bit panim* (gl. usque).

The context is: "Si mulier sita in aetate puerili in domo patris se iuramento constrinxerit et reliqua usque ait Si pater statim ut audierit contradixerit, uota eius et iuramenta eius irrita erunt" (xxxv. 5).

In *di-im-d-am-guas* we have four particles, *di*, *im* (as in *imgupartou* infra No. 256) the reflexive particle, later *em* Z^a. 899. *do* and *am* = *dam* now signifying inchoate action, Z^a. 906. The final syllable *guas* stands for some form of the modern verb *gwaska* 'presser', 'comprimer' = W. *gwasgu*, Ir. *fascadh*.

^a To these perhaps may be added the Ir. *milide*, an epithet for heaven in the *Seála láí brátha*, LU.

In *bit panim* (gl. usque i. e. usque ad) *bit* is the later *bet*, *bed* Z^a. 698, Corn. *bys*, W. *behil*, *bet*, *byt*.

panim seems cognate with the modern *pan* or *pann* 'lieu', 'endroit': possibly, too, with the Ir. interrogative adverb *can* 'whence'.

183. *brientinion* (gl. ingenuis). Context: "De captivis ingenuis in eodem sabbato liberandis" (xxxvi. 3). This is the pl. of *brientin* = Corn. *bryntyn* 'princeps', Mid. W. *breennhin*, *brenhin* Z^a. 845, Glück K. N. 129, from **brigentin*, a derivative from **brigant*, W. *bryeint*, *breint* 'privilegium', now *braint*. As to the loss of *g* between vowels, see Nos. 49, 106, 133, 164 supra.

184. *testou* (gl. stipulationes).

185. *guos* (gl. ratas).

The context is: "accepi stipulationes et ratas et signa forinsecus" (xxxvi. 5, citing Jeremiah 32, v. 11). Here *testou* is the pl. of *test*, Corn. *tist*, *test*, W. *tyst*, a loan from Lat. *testis*. As to *guos* for *guostlou* see above No. 174.

186. *dieteguetic* (gl. distitutus). The context is: "Populus a principe distitutus dixit, quis ibit ante nos?" (xxxvii. 2). I would analyse this word thus: *di-et-eguetic*. Here *di* and *et* (for *at*) are the common prepositional prefixes Z^a. 903, 900, and *eguetic* is the pret. part. passive of some verb from the root AV, whence the Latin *ind-uo*, *ex-uo* and other words cited by Fick³, i. 25.

187. *aïor* (gl. anchora, xxxvii. 3). *Aïor*, Mid. Br. *heor* Cath., now *héor* or *éor*, is a loan, like W. *angor*, Corn. *ancar*, Ir. *ingor*, from Lat. *ancora* (not *anchora*). For the loss or vocalisation of the guttural nasal in inlaut compare Mid. Br. *ael* 'angelus', *aviel* 'evangelium', *ciuellenn* 'cingulum', *iuin* 'unguis' = Ir. acc. sg. *ingin*, *moe* 'coma' = Ir. *mong*, *nouen* 'unguentum', *stoeaff* 'clinare', W. *ystrwg*, *toeaff* 'iurare', Ir. *tongad*, *spoe* 'spongia', and perhaps the mod. Br. *s-t-laon* 'eel' = O. H. G. *slango*, now *schlange*. Compare the change in Welsh of *ng* to *w*, Rhys, Rev. Celtique, ii. 192.

188. *or* (gl. malleus, leg. malleus, xxxvii. 3). This is for *ord* = O. Corn. *ord* (gl. malleus) Z^a. 1061, W. *g-ord* with prefixed *g* from *v*, Ir. *ordd* (gl. malleus).

189. *guilp* (gl. madeficandum). The printed context has: "Ros sit ad madefaciendum (xxxvii. 3)". This is the beginning of *guil-piïoe*, the fut. part. pass. of the verb whence *ro-gulipias* (gl. oliva-

^a See *do-ti-et-ue* (gl. desistit) infra, No. 261.

vit) Lux. The modern infinitive is *glebia* or *glibia*, a derivative from *gleb* = Mid. Br. *gluip* (*gluipyadur* 'humectatio'), O.W. *gulip*, Kuhn's Beitr. 405, now *gwlyb* 'humidus', 'madidus', Corn. *gleb*, Ir. *stiuch*. The root is VALG according to Fick², 778.

190. *guirhter* (gl. austeritate). The printed context is: "cum austeritate imperabant eis, eo quod non esset pastor bonus" (xxxvii. 4). This is an abstract noun formed like *blinder* (gl. segnitia), by adding, -ter to some adjective, Z². 829. What this adjective is remains doubtful. *Guirh* may stand for **guirch*, and if this is by metathesis for *guichr* we may compare O. W. *guichir*, *guichr* (gl. effrenus, gl. effera) Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 398, W. *gwychr* 'alacer', 'strenuus'. Or if the *c* is a *g* protracted by the *t* of the suffix, we may bring *guirhter* from the Old Br. *guerg* (gl. efficax) Eutyech.

191. *ablin* (gl. faustu). The printed context is: "Cunctos fastu superbiae parvipendunt" (xxxvii. 4). The glossographer seems to have regarded 'fastus' as meaning 'fastigium', for *blin* (now *blîn* 'bout', 'extrémité') is = Corn. *blyn*, W. *blaen* 'cuspis', 'extrémitas', 'summitas'. The *a* is, of course, the preposition indicating the ablative. There is a castrum *Blaen* in a 12th century charter, Cart. Red., page 291.

192. *ceple* (gl. reprehensibiliter, xxxvii. 5). Connected with *cablus* 'coupable' Cath., 'criminans' Davies, Corn. *cabel*, W. *cabl* 'calumnia'. All from a Med. Latin *cabilla*, classical *cavilla*. For the change of *b* to *p* in loanwords compare the Mid. Br. *chapl* 'cable', *campr* 'chambre', *divempraff* 'to dismember', *canap* 'cannabis'.

193. *orion* (gl. oram).

194. *straal* (gl. calamidis).

The printed context is: "abscidit oram clamidis [leg. chlamydis] ejus" (xxxvii. 5). Here *orion* is the pl. of *or*, (Ir. *or*, dat. sg. *ur*), a loan from, or cognate with, Lat. *ora*, and *straal*, like Corn. *strail* (gl. tapeta), W. *ystraill*, is a loan from Lat. *stragulum*, the *g*, as usual, disappearing between vowels.

195. *dan* (gl. sub): this is written over the *sub* of "subjectione", (xxxvii. 6). It is the Corn. *tan* (in the oath *tan ow feih*), the W. *dan* from *tan*. In Middle Breton this preposition appears only when compounded with the prepositions *di* or *en*: *di-dan*, *en-dan*, *dindan* = *di-en-dan* Z². 680: *dindan poncz pilat*, Horae.

196. *domot* (gl. ritum). The printed context is: "Quicumque venerit contra ritum [var. *luc.* decretum] principis, ab ecclesia abji-

ciatur" (xxxvii. 6). This is the W. *defawd*, *defed* 'mos', 'consuetudo', Davies. Cognate with *δέμης*, *dhūma(n)*, Goth. *dōm-s* (Eng. *doom*) and the other words cited by Curtius, G. E. No. 309.

197. *les* (gl. decreto). Context: "Qui contradixerit decreto principis in herede ordinando, non est christianus" (xxxvii. 18). This is the first three letters of *testament* Cath., a loan from Latin *testamentum*.

198. *artlon* (gl. latrare).

199. *guotroit* (gl. demulgitis).

The printed context is: "Canes muti non possunt latrare, vos demulgitis lac ovium et comeditis eas" (xxxvii. 22, citing Isaias 59, v. 10). Here *artlon* is for *arthon*, cognate with the Mid. Br. *harzaff* 'aboyer' Cath., now *harza*, W. *cyf-arth*, Davies. Pughe has also *arthal*, *arthiad*, *arthaw* and *arthu*. The ending *-on* seems to stand for *-ân*. In Middle Breton we have only *-en* Z³. 536, as in *autren*, *antren*.

guotroit is the 2nd pl. pres. indic. act. of a verb = the Mid. Breton *gozro* 'mulgere' Cath., now *gôrô*, W. *godro*, and compounded of the prep. *guo* and *tro*, which latter seems (like the Fr. *traire*) to come from a Med. Lat. *tragere* = *trahere*.

Over 'abutimur' in the phrase "quorum abutimur donis" (xxxvii. 22) is written *m*, which I cannot explain.

200. *hgurslli* (gl. informetur). The printed text has: "Decernimus, ut discat, quod doceat, *reformetur* quod teneat" (xxxvii. 23). This seems compounded with the prep. *guor*, like *gurlimnn*, *gurprit*, supra Nos. 51, 95. The *stli* may be the beginning of a verb cognate with O. W. *istlinnit* 'loquitur' Juv. 4 = O. Ir. *sluindid*.

201. *guodces* (gl. hodio habentes). Context: "crudeles, hodio habentes bonum" (xxxvii. 30, citing 2 Timoth. 3, v. 3). Here *guod* may possibly stand for **goud*, a loan from A.S. *gôd* (Mhg. *guot*, O. Sax. *guod*), and *ces* may stand for **ceseion* = W. *caseion*, pl. of *casai* 'a hater', cognate with *cas*, Corn. *cās* 'hatred', Mid. Br. *casel* 'to hate' Cath., W. *cassau* 'odio habere', Davies, Ir. *cáis* .i. *míoncais no fuath*, O'Cl. Our gloss would thus mean 'haters of the good' *bonum*.

202. *im* (gl. Paulus, xxxvii. 36). This name is prefixed to 1 Corinth. 12, vv. 21, 22: "Non potest dicere caput pedibus, &c." Perhaps our *im* is the first syllable of *impossibl* MJ. 9^b, 120^a, and is intended to gloss 'non potest'.

203. *adorn* (gl. trituranis). The context is: "Non alligabis os bovis trituranis in area", xxxviii. 1, citing Deuteron. 25, v. 4.

Here *a* is the verbal particle, Z.² 425, and *dorn* is the 3d sg. pres. indic. act. of a verb = *dornaff* 'bastre' Cath., now *dourna* = W. *dyrnu* 'triturare', 'flagellari'. All derived from *dorn*, Corn. *dorn*, W. *dwrn* 'pugnus', Ir. *dorn*. Hence also Mid. Br. *dornat* 'manipulus' Cath.

204. *liusiū* (gl. *lixa*). Context: "Ut *lixa* per cinerem humidum et sordidum fluens lavat, et non lavatur" (xxxviii. 5). So *lisiu* (gl. *lixa*) Eutyech. Z.² 1054 and Cath., now *lisiou* 'lessive', O. Corn. *lissiu*, Z.² 1063, W. *lleisw*, both loans from Lat. *lixivium*. Other instances in Breton loanwords of *s* from *x* are *flus* 'flux', *nos* 'nox', *es-freisaff* 'exfrigidare', *estren* 'extraneus', *bisest* 'bisextus', and perhaps *escis*, infra No. 264.

205. *in lin loed* (gl. *in lacuna sordida*, xxxviii. 5). Here *in* is the preposition; *lin* is = Corn. *lin*, W. *llyn* 'lacus', 'stagnum' [Ir. *linn*], which Davies compares with *λίμνη*, and *loed* is now *louz* 'sale', 'malpropre', et selon quelques-uns 'vilain', 'laid', Corn. *lowse* Cr. 158, *lowz* 'mouldy', Lhuyd Arch. Brit. 281. Our *loed* seems borrowed from some Romance form of Fr. *laid*, which Diez brings from Ohg. *leid* 'verhasst'. In PB. 33 we have *Iesu a lem an bet a laet*, which M. de Villemarqué renders by 'Jésus qui tire le monde, de la honte'.

206. *gudnaiol* (gl. *erudiens*). The context is: "Melior est docta sapientia non minus erudiens, quam sancta rusticitas" (xxxviii. 7). This seems, as Prof. Bugge suggests, misread for *gud-uaiol*, a compound of *gud* = W. *gwydd* No. 126 supra, and *baiol*, from Lat. *baiulus*, which in the Middle Ages meant 'erzieher', 'hofmeister' (Diez E.W. 36, s.v. *bailo*). In the Old Cornish vocabulary *baiol* (gl. *enula*) seems to mean an envelope for a letter.

207. *con* (gl. *sustulit*). The Latin word should be 'sustollit': "Lectio divina indoctum aedificat, doctum corripit, pauperem *sustulit*, regem humiliat, purificat animam," etc. (xxxviii. 13), and our gloss seems the first syllable of the 3d sg. pres. indic. act. of the Old Br. verb corresponding to the Mid. Br. *quen-derchell* cognate with W. *cynnal* 'sustinere' a *cyn* et *dal*, Davies: cf. *quendelch* 'conserve', 'garde', *evel merch a quendelch guerchdet* 'like a maiden that guards her virginity' PB. 13.; *es quendelch roen tire guiryow* 'the king of the earth keeps his words' PB. 40.

208. *gupar* (gl. *remotis*, xxxix. 3). See above No. 149.

209. *guparol* (gl. *theorica*). Context: "In sola contemplatione *theorica* viventes perseverant" (xxxix. 3). This adjective (which

glomes 'thesaurum' infra No. 240) seems to be compounded with the prep. *gus*, and to be formed from some word connected with Ital. *porro*, Fr. *porrois*, Lat. *porro*. Hence also perhaps Ir. *borraim* (gl. spinis) Ir. Gl. No. 377. See infra No. 223.

200. *blimion* (gl. rethefacti). The printed text has "eorum ... qui ... continuo rethefacti" (xxxix. 3). This seems the plural of *blin* (gl. inerte), Lux., pl. *blimion* (gl. inerte) Lux. = Skr. *glāma* 'forestone,' Bugge. Compare *blin* (gl. tepore) infra No. 268, which probably stands for *blinder*. Mid. W. *blinder* 'fatigatio' Z.² 829, or some other abstract derivative. The word *blin* or *blen*, which forms part of several Old Breton names,² may be cognate.

201. *ad* (gl. laceti, leg. lacessiti, xxxix. 3). the first syllable of the pret. part. passive of some verb compounded with the prep. *ad*.

212. *quorcedonim* (gl. circumcellionum). "Qui sub habitu monachorum neque quaque vagantur" xxxix. 3. This is the pl. of *quorcedon* 'vagabond', where *gum* (= Gaul. *ter-*) is the common intensive prefix Z.² 895, 896; the ending *-or*, as in *raor* (gl. opilio) Berne 10, is from *ār*, Z.² 830, and *ced* is the base of the verb *credam*, leg. *cerdam* (gl. vario) Eutych. 6^a = W. *cerddaf*, Z.² 1053, and the verbal noun *querzel*, Cath., now *kerzel* = W. *cerdded* 'incedere', 'ambulare', Davies, Corn. *kerd* (gl. iter), Ir. *ceird*, all cognate with O. Saxon *scrīdan* 'schreiten', Curtius G.E.⁵ No. 71.

213. *bleoc* (gl. criniti).

214. *guiliat* (gl. tonsa).

215. *guoliat* (gl. comata).

The context is: "alii criniti incedunt, ne vilior habeatur tonsa sanctitas quam comata" (xxxix. 3). Here *bleoc* stands for *bleocion*, infra No. 281, pl. of *bleoc*, better *bleuoc* = *bleuhec*^b 'plein de poil' Cath. = Corn. *bleuak*, W. *blewog* 'crinitus' Davies. It is an adj. derived from *bleu* (also *bleuon* gl. iubis, Lux.), pl. of *bleuenn* 'poil' Cath., = W. *blewyn*. Compare O.W. *bleu-porthetic* (gl. lanigerae) Z.² 1055, Corn. *bleu yn pen* (gl. capillus), *bleu en lagat* (gl. palpebrae).

guiliat for **guilliat* seems an abstract noun meaning 'the state of being shorn'. For the termination see Z.² 840. Our gloss is cognate with O. Corn. *guillihim* (gl. forceps) Z.² 1062, W. *gwellaif* 'a pair of shears', and perhaps Latin *vello*. To this belongs the Luxembourg gloss *guilliatou* (gl. tonsuras).

^a *Blen-lini*, *Blen-lisset*, *Blen-liuet*, *Blen-liuuet*, *Blen-luet*, *Blin-liuet* *Tren-Nlen*.

^b Here the A is due to the accent on *ec*.

guoliat for *guolliat*, also an abstract noun, meaning 'hairiness', is derived from **guolt* 'coma', Corn. *gols* (gl. cesaries), W. *gwallt*, Ir. *folt*, which Prof. Rhys would connect with Gr. *λάσις* ex *Φλατις*. See *cogueli* (gl. lanitium) infra No. 284.

216. *guad* (gl. deterrimum, xxxix. 3). This stands for *guadam*, now *gwasa*, the irregular superlative of *drouk* 'malus'. The W. *gwaethaf*, Corn. *guethe* D. 1130, Br. *gwese* 'pessime' MJ. 196, 2 seem to come from a different root.

217. *imco* (gl. agitet, leg. uigilet?).

218. *loois*—ms. *lois*, with *o* written over *i*—(gl. latronibus).

The printed context is: "Quis ab insidiis luporum custodit oves, si pastoris cura non *vigilet*, quis latronibus et furibus resistit, si speculatorem non habuerit?" (xxxix. 4).

im-co is the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the preposition *im*, perhaps with a reflexive meaning, Z.¹ 898) and the prep. *con*, and possibly identical with W. *cynnhyrfu* 'agitare' ex *cyn-tyrfu* 'conturbare'.

In *loois*, if this be the right reading, the *-ois* may be = the *-uys*, *-is* (ex *-enses*?) forming collective substantives in Mid. W. and Mid-Breton, such as W. *monuys*, *Lloegrwys*, Br. *bedis* 'homines', literally 'mundi (*bet*) habitatores', *brois* 'regionis habitatores', *ploey*s, 'plebani' from *ploe* 'plebs', Z.² 294. In *lo* I see the equivalent of *λόχος* 'an ambush', 'the lurking place of robbers'. The Welsh cognate seems to exist in the Ogam part of the bilingual inscription on the Llanvaughan stone, *Trenacat lo*, i. e., 'the bed', or 'grave', 'of Trenacatus (Tringad), son of Maglagnus (Maelan)'.^a The root of *lo* (the Gaulish *loga-n* in the Todi inscription) is *lagh*, as to the existence of which in the Celtic languages see Curtius, G. E. No. 173 and Rhys, Rev. Celt. i. 373. For the loss of the *g* between vowels, see above No. 49.

219. *nabu anfumetic* (gl. non suspicionis).

220. *gur clut erdirh* (gl. mali evidentis).

The context is: "abbas ita degeneravit ab opere Dei ut mereatur ... fornicationis crimine non suspicionis sed mali evidentis honerari" (xxxix. 7). For the last three words the printed text has "male videntis onerari".

In *na-bu* (as in gloss No. 221) the *na* is the negative particle used in a relative or subjunct sentence Z.² 752, and *bu* must be

^a See as to *Maelan* and *Tringad* Rhys' Lectures on Welsh Philology, 2d edn. 380.

the 3d sg. pret. of the verb substantive. It is identical with the W. *bu*, Z.^a 561. The Mid. Breton forms are *boue*, *boe*, Corn. *bue* Z.^a 563, 562.

For *anfumetic* I venture to think we should read *ansunetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb connected with the Old Fr. *ensongier* 'avoir ses pensées dirigées sur qqch.' Burguy, ii. 351. Mid. Br. *songeal* 'to think', *songiaf*, *soingaff* 'je pense' (*songe*), ultimately from the Lat. *somnio*. For the prefix *an-* = O. Fr. *en-* cf. *anclinaff*, *ancontraff*, *anserret*, *antechet*, *antren*, Cath.

The second gloss, *gur clut erdirh* 'a man of conspicuous glory,' is, I think, intended to explain 'honorari', which the ignorant glosser mistook for *honorari*, the gen. sg. masc. of *honorarius*. Here *gur*, Corn. *gur* (in *gur-ruid*), W. *gwr*, Ir. *fer* is = Lat. *vir*, and *clut* (*clot* gl. *rumoris*, Lux.) is = W. *clod*, Corn. *clos*, Ohg. *hlud*. It is possible that *clut* may be an adjective = *clot* in O.Br. *Clot-ri* Z.^a 889, Ir. *cloth*, Gr. *κλυτός* Curtius No. 62. In that case the gloss should be rendered 'a man famous, conspicuous'. The third word *erdirh*, for *erdirch*, is exactly the Ir. *airdirc*, *erdirc* 'conspicuous', from the root *DERC*, Skr. *darç*, Curtius G. E. No. 13. In the phrase *en hanu derch an guerches* 'in the clear (or bright) name of the Virgin', PB. 173, *derch* is an adjective: cf. O.Sax. *torht* 'splendens', Ohg. *zorah-t* 'hell', 'deutlich'.

221. *na docordomni* (gl. non arcemus). The context is: "illos vero, quorum abbatem de mensa sanctorum propter infamiam non arcemus", (xxxix. 7). As to *na* see No. 220. The *-ni* (later *ny*) is the pers. pronoun of the 1st pl. (Z.^a 374, 380, Curtius G. E.^a No. 444) here used as an enclitic. Between the *m* of the termination of the verb and the *n* of the suffixed pronoun, a *p* was, in Middle Breton, inserted as a fulcrum (cf. in Mid. Br. *colum-p-nenn* 'columna', *dam-p-naff* 'damnare', *hym-p-n* 'hymnus' and in mediaeval Latin *som-p-nus*, *sollem-p-nitas* for *somnus*, *sollemnitas*). The *ni* (*ny*) then dropt off and left the verbal ending *-omp*. The verb *do-cordom* is compounded with the prep. *do* and its root seems KAR, Curtius G. E.^a, 53, whence *keipw* and Lat. *curtus*, properly 'abgerissen'. Our *cordom*, if, as is possible, *d* stands for *th*, may thus be equated in form with Lat. *curtamus*.

222. *roiau* (gl. soffosoria). The printed context is: "aratra trahentes et sofosoria (var. lec. fossoria) figentes terrae". Our gloss means 'spades' and is equivalent to the modern W. *rhawiau*, pl.

of *rhaw* 'rutrum', 'ligo', 'palus', Davies. I think this must be cognate with, or borrowed from, the Lat. *rāmus*: for *o* from *a* see No. 154 supra, and for the vocalisation of *m*, see *law* supra No. 70 and W. *ffaw* from *fāma*. The Ir. *rāma* LL. 12.b (like Fr. *rame*) means 'oar'. The *-iau* for *-iou* is remarkable.

223. *boco* (gl. paulo). Context: "De monacho paulo remissionis regulae non admittendo" (xxxix. 9). This seems a loan from a low Lat. **pauco*, an adverb formed from *paucus*, as *paulo* from *paulus*. For the sinking of *p* to *b* in loanwords, cf. Br. *bihan*, *baradoes* from *piccus* and *paradisus* and Ir. *biail* (W. *bwyell*), *bí*, *bóc*, *brolach*, respectively from *pialla*, *pix*, *p.cem*, *prologus*.

224. *naco* (gl. non admittat, xxxix. 9). As to *na* see No. 220. The *co-* must be the first syllable of some verb compounded with the prep. *con*.

225. *pei*—Mr. Bradshaw is not sure of the third letter—(gl. belial). Context: "quae enim societas, luci cum tenebris et Belial cum justis?" xl. 1) cf. 2 Corinth 6, vv. 14, 15. I suspect we have here the interrogative pronoun *pe* (= *pi* supra) and the initial of some word meaning 'concord'.

226. *corn* (gl. scipho, leg. scypho, xl. 5). This is = Ir. *corn* m. 'a drinking cup or horn', Corn. *corn* (gl. cornu), W. clywitor *corn* can ni weler 'a horn will be heard, though it be not seen', *corneyt* 'cornu plenum' Z². 840. Galatian *κάρνον* *σάλπιγγα*, Hesych., Goth *hauru*.

227. *comnidder* (gl. consubrinis leg. consobrinis, id est filiis fratris patris, xl. 6), v supra No. 24.

228. *comelia* (gl. sodalitates, xl. 13). I suspect that this gloss stands for *comeliachou*, pl. of *comeliach* = W. *cyfeilliach* 'amicitia' Z². 851. Cognate with W. *cyfaill*, *cyfaillt* 'amicus', 'socius', 'sodalis', Davies, Ir. *ad-com-altar* 'conjungitur', *ac-com-allie* (gl. socius, i. e. junctus) Z². 73, 116 n., Corn. *chef-als* (gl. artus), Ir. *alt* 'a joint', Goth. *lithus*, Lat. *artus*, and other words quoted by Curtius G. E. No. 488. The preservation of the *m* of the preposition *com* is remarkable: cf. *cou-arcon*, *co-archolion* Berne 12, 46, where it is infected or vocalised.

The assimilation of the *t* had taken place in the ninth century: *Comal-car*, *Cumalcar*, *Couuellic* (Cart. Red., pp. 12, 221, 125). But we find, also in a charter of the ninth century, *Comalt-car* (ib., pp. 10, 36, 143, etc.)

229. *diuenoc*—ms. *diuenic*, *o* being written over the second *i*—(gl. in ballinea): The printed context is: "Sunt qui audierunt, quod

Johannes discipulus Domini apud Effesum, cum *balneas* lavandi gratia fuisset ingressus et vidisset ibi Cerintum exsiluisse, continuo fertur et discessisse non lotus dicens: fugiamus hinc, ne et ipsae balneae corruant, in quibus Cerintus lavat, inimicus veritatis" (xl. 13). This may be for **di-guennoc*, where *di* is the prep. *di* (= Ir. *du*, *do*, O.W. *di*, Corn. *dhe*) now *de* or *da*, and *guennoc* is connected with the adj. *gwenn* 'white', Ir. *find*, and with the W. verb *gwynnu*, the Cornish verb *gwynna* 'to whiten', 'to wash' (*Josep the gryst a wynnas y arrow* 'Joseph for Christ washed his legs' P. 233. 1). If so, our gloss means 'ad lavandum', the 'lavandi gratiâ' of the text. The loss of *g* between vowels is regular. For the writing *n* for *nn* ex *nd* compare *oferen* = *offerenda* and *peden* = *petenda* Z². 113. For the formation of an infinitive in *-c* compare *redec* 'currere' Cath. = Corn. *resek*, W. *reded*, and W. *eredic* 'arare' Z². 535.

230. *drosion* (gl. tritura). The context is: "In tritura areae grana sub paleis premuntur" (xl. 14). This must be the pl. of *dros*, which seems to be connected with A.S. *dros* 'filth', 'lees' (Ed. Müller), Eng. *dross*, Nhg. *drusen*, rather than with Nhg. *drasch* tritura, O. Fr. *drasche* 'hülsen', 'schoten' Diez. E. W.* 563.

231. *fleriot* (gl. redolet). Printed context: "Rosa, quae redolet, crescit cum spina" (xl. 14). This is the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of an â-verb = Mid. Br. *flaeriaff*, Corn. *fleyrye*, *flerye*, from *flaer* = Corn. *flair* (gl. odor) O. Fr. *flair*. From Lat. *fragrare*, by dissimilation *flagrare*, Diez, E.W. 146. For the termination cf. *crihot* Lux. and *cospitiot* supra No. 171.

232. *commin* (gl. annalibus). Context: "Origenes in annalibus Hebreorum ait" (xli. 1). This is the pl. of *com-man*, which is radically connected with Ir. *cu-man* 'remembrance' (*ni cuman lim* 'nescio', Z.² 872) or *cumain*, and the modern *cuihmhne*. The root is MAN, whence (inter alia) *comminiscor*, *comentum*, Curtius G.E. No. 429. In the Mid. Br. *couff* 'souvenir', W. and Corn. *côf* (Mod. Br. *koun*) the dental nasal has been lost. It is kept in Corn. *covenek*.

233. *colcet* (gl. agipam).

234. *guelcet* (in marg. gl. agipam).

235. *brothrac* (gl. taxam).

236. *toos* (in marg. gl. taxam).

The printed context is: "Episcopo liceat commendare vestimentum, quo utitur, et agipam et taxam (xli. 2)".

Here *colcet*, O.W. *cilchet* pl. *cilchetou* (gl. vela) Z. 1056, Corn.

cilcet (gl. tapiseta, gl. stratorium) Z.^a 1063, Ir. *colcaid*, is a loan from Lat. *culcita*, whence also Fr. *coile*, Eng. *coville* now *quilt*.

guelcet is a later form of the same word, the *gulcet* of Ms. Lat. 12021, the *golchet*, *golchedenn* of the Catholicon, now *golc'hed*.

brothrac seems a loan from the Ir. *brothrach*. But the meanings differ, for *taxa* is 'a purse' and *brothrach* is some kind of embroidered (?) garment.^a

toos i.e. *tōs* (ex **taus*, **tas*) comes, like Fr. *tasse* from *taxa*. For the expression of length by duplication, cf. O. Br. *guaan* Otho E. xiii.

237. *tron ca issent*. This is written in the margin opposite the words italicised in the following passage: "Ut si contigerit episcopum migrare de hoc saeculo, certis existentibus rebus, quae sunt ecclesiae, sciant, ne ipsae conlapsae depereant, nec quae propriae probantur episcopi, sub occasione pervadantur ecclesiae" (xli. 5). Mr. Bradshaw says: "If it is a Latin word I don't see what the meaning is. Can it be Breton?"

I suspect that this gloss requires to be re-examined. We may perhaps have in it an example of the 3d pl. secondary preterite, like *responsent*, PB. 138.

238. *auituer* (gl. degente sub censu). The context is: "De degente sub censu nihil commendante" (xli. 8). This is the heading of the following chapter: "*Sinodus Hibernensis*: Sicut sine permissu abbatis monachus nihil commendare [to make a bequest^b?] audebit, ita degens sub censu [a layman paying tribute?] potestatem non habebit donare aliquid in morte sua, nisi jubente domino suo". The *a* may be a preposition signifying the ablative: the *uer* seems part of a compound of which *guer*, *gur* supra No. 220 is the second element.

The *uit* i.e. *vit* may stand for *bit* 'mundus', the *b* being infected (cf. *abredahez* 'sero' from *a pret*, *a-uoex* 'palam' from *a-guoex*). The *bit-uer* to which we thus attain would mean 'a person leading the secular, as opposed to the monastic, life.'

^a It is glossed *brat riogh[d]a* by Rody; dat. sg. *cona-brothraig bósaile* LB. 215b; dat. pl. *roherrad a tech di cholthib 7 brothrachaib*, LU. 19a, *Intan bá urlam la Bricind dénam a thige máir 7 a grianán 7 anerrad díblinaib do brothrachaib 7 brecánaib 7 cholchthib 7 cerchaillib* 'and the furnishing of both of them with *brothrachs* and plaids and quilts and pillows,' LU. 99b. In each of the last two citations it seems to mean 'blanket'. Its diminutive *brothrachán* explains *sabribarra* i.e. *sarabarra*, Ir. Gl. 180.

^b Compare W. *llythyr cymyn* 'a testament or bequest'.

239-240. *cindrit gupar* (gl. theoricam). Printed context: "Tria tantum ecclesia custodit et nutrit, theoricam et actualem et penitentem" (xlii. i). Here *cindrit* (?) is written over *gupar*. Possibly it is misread for **cindric* ('contemplation?') radically connected with *er-dirh*, supra No. 220.

As to *gupar* it stands for *guparol*, see above No. 209.

241. *fon* (gl. inrogatis). Printed context: "vos e contrario non solum non suffertis, sed etiam non (?) facientibus inrogatis (xlii. 4)". This seems the beginning of a verb in the 2d pl. pres. indic. act. derived from *fon* = W. *ffon* 'baculus', 'hasta' Davies, Ir. *sonn*.

242. *guotric* (gl. difer). The printed context is: "Si debitor inrogandus vel exigendus est, differ" (xlii. 4). This gloss is = the '*gutric* (gl. difer)' of the Cotton ms. Otho E. xiii, and is connected with W. *godrig* 'mora', *trigo* 'morari', Lat. *tricare*.

243. *gro* (gl. crocitat). Context: "Columba non move pennam ... neque crocitat (xlii. 4)". This is the 3d sg. pres. indic. of the verb equivalent to W. *creu* 'instante petere', 'crocitare' (Davies). The Gr. *πρηνή*, *πρηνός* and Goth. *hrukjan* may be cognate. For the sinking of initial *c* to *g* cf. *guelcet*, supra No. 234, and the Mid. Br. *gant*, *gueffret*, *goural*. For the loss of intervocalic *g*, see No. 49 supra.

244. *aguetur* (gl. diminuitur). The printed context is: "quanto de terrenis deminuitur [scil. ecclesia], tanto de spiritualibus augetur, et quantum terrena quaesiverit aut contenderit, tantum de spirit(u)alibus *diminuitur* (xlii. 4)". This is the 3d sg. pres. indic. passive of a verb formed with the regular loss of initial *p*, from the stem *pan*, whence *παῖπος*, *paulus*, *paucus*, Goth. *fatwai*, A.S. *feawa*, Eng. *few*: to the same stem may apparently be referred the gloss *do-ti-et-ne* (gl. desistit) infra No. 261. The Irish cognates are *maithad* 'fewness' and *main* 'leisure' (cf. *μαῖλα*, *μαυμαλή*). The termination of this verb *-etur* is equivalent to that of Old Welsh forms like *cwynitor* 'is bewailed', *golcheltawr* 'is washed', *crybwyl-letor* 'shall be commemorated', *guelitor* 'is seen', *cemitor* 'is sung', *telitor* 'is paid'.

245. *tro* (gl. humanitatis, xlii. 9) is the first syllable of **tro-cared*, later *trugared* = W. *trugaredid* 'misericordia' (Davies), Ir. *trócáir*, from *tro*, *tru*, Corn. *tru*, Ir. *tróg*, *truag*, and *cared*. Compare O. W. *trucaranc* (gl. mītia), Kuhn's Beir. iv. 401.

* Evander Evans, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Studies in Cymric Philology, No. I.

246. *guinion* (gl. *vinulas*,^a xlii. 9). Plural of *guin* borrowed from the Latin *vinea*, whence also Ir. *fine*.

247. *colioc* (gl. *fascinavit*). The context is: "O insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinavit?" (xlii. 13), citing Galat. 3, v. 1, and our gloss is an answer to this question. It should be *coilioc* or *coelioc*, see above No. 159.

248. *dispriner* (gl. *depretiatur*). The printed context is (xlii. 24): "De infantibus in ecclesia projectis. Eadem Sinodus. Filius allatus servus est ejusdem, nisi depretiatur". Our gloss is the 3d sg. pres. indic. pass. of a verb compounded with the privative particle *dis* (= *di* + *es*?) Z^a. 894. The simple verb is in Mid. Br. *prenaff* now *préna* 'acheter', 'acquérir', O. Corn. *prinid* Z^a. 1069, Corn. *prenne*, W. *prynu* 'emere', 'redimere', Davies, Ir. *crenim* 'emo', *crithid* 'emax'. Here, as in *pi*, *panim*, *prin*, Nos. 140, 182, 295, supra, *p* has come from *Kv*, *K*, and our gloss is connected with the Skr. root *krí* 'to buy' (*krin*ī, base of the present).

A little further down, over 'protervus', is written *g*, which may be the initial of the Br. equivalent of W. *gwantan* (rhuthrau gwyntau *gwantan* 'gusts of wanton winds,' Pughe).

249. *guomone* (gl. in territorio).

250. *in dicom* :: *tegran*.

The printed context is: "Si quis episcopus sive aliquis edificaverit ecclesiam in territorio alicujus episcopi, hujus ecclesiæ consecratio reservetur ei, in cujus territorio edificata est" (xliii. 2). Gloss No. 250 is in the margin without a reference-mark, opposite the line ending with 'in territorio'.

guomone seems a compound of the prep. *guo* and some formation from the root *MAN* in *mun-tul* supra No. 138, and in Lat. *men-sa*, *men-sura*.

The ending of the second word in gloss No. 250 is, says Mr. Bradshaw, "very indistinct, partly cut off". Luckily, by aid of the Redon cartulary, we can restore the whole gloss thus: *in dicombit tegran*. Thus, in the 264th charter, "data est ista terra in dicombitione ad Endelgent et semen ejus in sempiternum." "Vendidit Tanethic terciam partem Brontro...in alode et in dicombito" (Cart. 39). So in Cart. 40. 'in luh in dicombito in alode comparato' (Cart. 91), 'in alode et in comparato et in dicombito' (Cart. 131), 'sine fine, in dicombito, sine ulla renda' (Cart. 133), 'in dicombito sine censu et sine tributo' (Cart. 146). M. de Courson (p.

^a The printed text has 'villulas' (*var. lec. vineolas vel terrulas*).

of the assimilation of *n* we find a few certain examples in Middle Breton. Thus *cann* 'white' (ex *canla*), *rouanez* 'kings' (*regentes*), *tennoer* 'tentorium', *n-ouen* 'unguentum', and see infra No. 289. So in modern Breton *gourcenn* 'envie' = Ir. *formal*.

257. *dem* (gl. coactaticia). Context: "coactaticia vis matrimonium non separat" (xlvi. 7). Compare *dem-guessim* infra No. 285.

258. *rigl* (gl. gilosa—i. e. zelosa—xlvi. 10). The printed context is: "Quid ergo, si sterilis si luxuriosa, si gulosa, si jurgatrix et maledica, tenenda sit vel tradenda sit"? This seems the sg. of *riglion* (gl. garrulis) of the Luxemburg glosses. If so, our gloss is intended, not for 'gilosa', but for 'jurgatrix' or 'maledica' (cf. No. 291 infra) and may be connected with the *recl* of *araprecl*, infra No. 266.

259. *ercor* (gl. ictum). Context: "ipse ad primum libidinis ictum victus cadit" (xlvi. 16). This is the W. *ergyr* 'impulsus', *ergyr-wayw* 'hostile impulsus' (Davies), Ir. *erchor*, *irchor*, *aurchor* or *urchor* 'a cast'.

260. *milin* (gl. prostitutam, xlvi. 21). See above No. 179.

261. *dotietue* (gl. desistit). The context is: "Ubi fuerit numerus maritorum, ibi vir, qui propriae [proprîe ?] unus est, esse desistit" (xlvi. 28). This verb is compounded with three prepositions. The *do-ti* may, like the *du-ti* of No. 44, stand for *do-di*. The *-et*, as in *di-et-eguetic* supra No. 186, stands for *at*. The stem seems to be the same as that of *aguetur* (gl. diminuitur) supra No. 244, namely *pau*: cf. *παύομαι*.

262. *brot* (gl. zelotipiae, spiritus, xlvi. 37). Connected with the modern adjective *broud* 'très-chaud', 'ardent', W. *brwd*, Corn. *bredion* (gl. coctio). The Irish noun *bruth* 'furor', 'fervor' (root BHRU, Curtius, G. E.⁵ No. 415, whence *φρέαρ*, *brunna*) is the exact equivalent of *brot*. So Welsh *aidd* 'zeal' is = Ir. *aed* 'fire', *αἰθερ*.

263 and 264. *inardotas escis* (gl. flagitium). The gloss is written in the margin with a reference-mark: *escis* is below *inardotas* in a different hand, but with the same mark repeated. The context is: "Latente commisso virorum non facile aliquis ex suspicionibus separandus, qui utique submovebitur, si ejus flagitium detegatur" (xlvi. 38)". Here *in* may be the preposition, *ardotas* a substantive cognate with Lat. *ardor* and O. Ir. *ardithe* (gl. accensus), Ml. 50 d, and *escis* another substantive borrowed, like Mid. Br. *escus*, W. *esgus*, from Lat. *excūsare*. For Breton *é* from *û*, cf. *glin* = Ir.

glún and *quil* = Ir. *cúl*. For *s* from *x* see above No. 204. The words would thus mean 'in heat of passion: an excuse'; but this explanation is a mere conjecture.

265. *trum* (gl. inopportune, leg. inopportuna). The printed context is: "Inoportuna in evangelio anus, quæ canibus se parem confessa est" (xlvi. 3). This gloss is the modern *trum* 'prompt', 'diligent', Corn. *trom*, W. *trwm* 'heavy', 'weighty', Ir. *trum* 'heavy', 'dense' (*circull trom do démnaib*, LB. 26a) from **tromb*, **trongvu*, O. N. *thröng*, *thröngva*, NHG. *drängen*, Eng. *to throng*, (Rhys, Lectures, 114), as Ir. *imb* 'butter' is = Lat. *ungen*.

266. *araprecl* (gl. prodigum). The context is: "Christus, inquam, prodigum filium revertentem laetum amplectitur." (xlvi. 3). This seems a compound of *arap* = W. *arab* 'facetous', 'facetosus', 'festivus', 'nugax' (Davies) and *recl*, perhaps connected with O. Bret. *riglion* (gl. garrulis) Lux.; and the Irish *reclugud* 'story-telling' (*reclugud ngairit* .i. *scela gairddi*, LL. 345c). The root may be ARK to speak, Fick³, i. 738. If this conjecture be right our gloss means 'a joyous story,' i.e. the parable of the Prodigal Son.

267. *scal* (gl. ferula). The context is: "Nemo gladio percutiet ulcus quod ferula mederi valet" (xlvi. 6). In a similar passage in ms. Otho E. xiii—"nec ferula curare medietur quisque quod gladio percutiendum"—the glossographer renders 'ferula' by *altin* 'razor'. This suggests that our *scal* may be a word, or the first four letters of a word, cognate with, or borrowed from, the Latin *scalpellum*.

268. *blin* (gl. tepore). v. supra No. 210. The context is: "melior est penitentia brevis reddenda, quam longa et remissa cum tepore mentis, in qua nihil stricte agitur" (xlvi. 8).

269. *dilu* (gl. detestantur). Context: "Fructuosa est penitentia cum tu detestaris vitia, cum enim infirmaris, non tu detestaris vitia, sed vitia tua te detestantur" (xlvi. 9). Our gloss is the first four letters of a verb in the 3d pl. pres. indic. act. It is possibly connected with the modern *loui* 'puer', 'sentir mauvais' (*louldien* M. J. 165^a).

270. *do* (gl. prodantur). Context: "publica lamentatione peccata prodantur" (xlvi. 11).

271. *er* (gl. praesumitur). Context: "venia peccatorum praesumitur [printed text: praesumatur] ab illo" (xlvi. 11).

* en badou ra vech darnouet, M. J. 147^a; ezay da holl mat dan badou, Buh. 172; a-coezas en badou PB. 114.

These are the first syllables of verbs compounded respectively with the prepositions *do* and *ar*.

272. *bat* uel *crit* (gl. frenesin). Context: "De in frenesin versis" (xlvi. 16). Here 'frenesin', is for 'phrenesin': *bat* is now *bad* 'étourdissement': the word *badou*, which occurs in the phrase *en badou*^a, (curiously like the Prov. *enbada*) is either the plural of, or a derivative from, this word. The Cornish *badus* (gl. lunaticus) comes from a cognate adjective *bad*, which occurs thrice in the plays: *tebel seruont a leuer, mar serf ef bad y vester, ke the honan ha gura guel* 'a bad servant says if he serves his master stupidly, 'go thyself and do better', D.2283—5; *eugh whyleugh thymmo pilat, gothfetheugh ma na veugh bad* 'Go ye, seek Pilate for me, be sure that ye be not stupid', R. 1773—4; *whet kerghough thymmo pilat yn y geuer del fuef bad^a, y fuf tollys* 'Again fetch Pilate to me, as I was stupid regarding him, I was deceived', R. 1885—7.^b The absence of the usual changes of *t* in Breton (through *d*) to *s* and in Cornish to *r* seems to shew that we have here to do with loanwords. Possibly Goth. *bauth-s* 'deaf', 'dumb', 'insipid' (Luke xiv. 34) may be the source. Or the Erfurt gloss *batat* 'ginath', i.e. gähnt (Diez, E.W. s.v. *badare*)? Or some old form of the Ital. *pazzo*?

crit is now *cryd* 'fever', 'ague', = O. W. *crit* (gl. timore), Kuhn's Beitr. iv. 392, Ir. *crith* 'a trembling', *crith-galar* 'fever'. In modern Breton I find only *kridien* 'frisson': in Cornish only *crys*: *an houl ny golse y lyw ... na dor grys* 'The sun would not have lost his brightness, nor would the earth shake'. D. 3083. A.S. *hridhian*, *hridhe*, and the N.H.G. *ritte* 'fever' (Ed. Müller) are the Teutonic cognates.

273. *gurre* (gl. fulciuntur). Context: "ecclesia et regnum a mundialibus constituuntur et fulciuntur" (xlvi. 1). This seems a part of the verb which in Middle Breton is written *gourren* and explained by 'levare', 'attollere', 'exaltare'. Cath. It is compounded of the prep. *guor*, *gur*, *gour*, Z². 905, and the verb *ren* 'agere', 'ducere', Cath. So in Corn. *gor-re*.

274. *occrou* (gl. hirsutis).

275. *toreusit* (gl. atriuit).

The printed context is: "alios hirsutis serra dentibus attrivit" (xlix. 4).

occrou is the pl. of **occr* a loan from, or cognate with, Lat. *acer*.

^a Observe the rhyme with *Pilât*.

It occurs compounded with the prep. *ar* in *ar-ocrion* (gl. atrocía), Lux. The latter element of the name *Uuor-ocar*, Cart. Red. 94, is perhaps the same word. The ending *-ou* for the usual plural ending of adjectives *-ion*, is noteworthy.

tor-eusit may be cognate with the O. Br. *eusiniou* (gl. senis) Lux., Corn. *usion* (gl. palea), and W. *us* pl. *usion* Z². 1080, *eisin* 'furfur'. The *tor* is = *do* + *ar* = *ter* in O. W. *ter-misceticion* Z². 906. The termination *-it*, or rather, if we read *toreussit*, *-sit* seems that of the Old Welsh preterites quoted by the late Professor Evans (Studies in Cymric Philology, xix^a), namely *seinnyessyt* 'resonavit', *pregelhyssit* 'praedicavit', *kewssit* 'invēnit', *llochessid* 'protexit', *deleyssid* 'tenuit', *prynessid* 'ēmit', *llygrassyd* 'corrupt'.

276. *morm* *bostol* (gl. bilbina leg. belluina). The printed context is: "alios beluina rabies morsibus detruncando comminuit" (xlix. 4). The gloss is written in the margin, with a reference-mark. The end of the former word is cut off in the binding. *Morm* is an adjective derived from *mormil* 'a sea (*mor*) beast' (Corn. *mor-uil* gl. cetus, W. *morfil*): *mil* is = W. and Ir. *míl*, Gr. *μῆλον*, and *bostol*, better *boestol*, is another adjective derived from *boest*, W. *bwyst*, Ir. *béist*, all borrowed from Latin *bestia*.

277. *cise* (gl. anteriore). Context: "in cujus (scil. Simonis magi) capite cesaries ab aure ad aurem tonsa anteriore parte" (lii. 3). I think this gloss must stand for something like the Old Welsh *cisemic* 'primus', Kuhn's Beitr. 407, or Corn. *quesevin* (gl. primas), Mod. W. *cysefin*. But possibly it may be intended for 'tonsa', and stands for *ciselletic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb **cisellam*, now *kizella* = 'ciseler'.

278. *inbues* (gl. in bobælo — leg. in bovello, liii. 5). Here *in* is the preposition, and *bues* is = W. *buches* 'locus mulgendi vaccas' (Davies) from *buch* (gl. inuēnae) Z. 1055, now *buwch*. Corn. *buch*. For the loss of *ch* in inlaut cf. O. Br. *bian* = W. *bychan*, and W. *croen* 'skin', = Br. *crochenn*, Ir. *croccenn*. For the termination, compare (besides *buches*) W. *llynghes* 'classis' and *dauattes* 'grex ovium'.

279. *lis* (gl. sicatorium). The printed context (which reads like a translation of one of the so-called Brehon laws^b) is as follows: 'De gallinis. Hibernenses dicunt: Gallinae si devastaverint

^a Archaeologia Cambrensis, April 1873, p. 152.

^b Compare also xliii. 5, *De canibus*, xliiii. 6 *De prima canis culpa non reddenda*, and xliiii. 8 *De pilacibus* Hibernenses dicunt: Pilax [a cat] si quid mali fecerit nocte, non reddet dominus ejus, in die vero nocens, reddet. Cap. 3 of Book xxxvii (*de bonis principibus*) also reads like a translation from the Irish.

messem aut vineam [1] aut hortulum in civitate sepe circumdatum, quae altitudinem habet usque ad mentum viri et coronam spinarum habuerit, reddet dominus earum, sin vero, non reddet. Si vero foras exierint ultra *siccatorium*, dominus reddet, si aliquid mali fecerint" (liii. 9). The Latin word seems to be for **secatorium*, and the gloss is the Mid. Br. *les* 'aula', 'curia', now *les* 'cour', 'lisière', 'bord', Corn. *les*, *lis*, W. *llys*, Ir. *lis*, *les*.

280. *anscantociōn* (gl. *insquamosos*^b — ms. in scām mossos).

281. *bleociōn* (gl. *pilosos* — ms. *pilossos*). The context is: "Una caro est, quae luxuriam non gignit, hoc est piscium, sed *lex* docet aliquos pisces inlicitos, ut *insquamosos*^a et pilosos et reliqua" (liv. 8).

Here *anscantociōn* is the pl. of the adjective *anscantoc* 'not having scales', from the negative prefix *an* and *scantoc* now *skantek* 'couvert d'écailles'. The subst. *skant*, is *skand* in the Catholicon, but the *t* is still kept in *di-scantaff* 'exsquamare'. I suspect a connection with Fr. *échantillon*.

bleociōn is the pl. of *bleoc* supra No. 213.

282. *rod* (gl. *eruginem*, leg. *aeruginem*, liv. 10). This is the W. *rhwd*, Mid. W. *ryt-lyt* 'ferruginosus' Z³. 891, whence we should have expected our gloss to be *rot*, Ir. *rot* 'everything red', Corm. s. v. *rotta*. The Eng. *rust*, Ohg. and Nhg. *rost*, are certainly cognate.

283. *air* (gl. *stragem*, liv. 11) is O.Corn. *hair* (gl. *clades*) Z³. 1063, W. *aer* 'slaughter', Ir. *ár* (gl. *strages*) Z³. 17, which Zeuss connects with Ver-agri and Rhys with ἄγρα. The pl. *airou* (gl. *strages*) and the cognate adj. *airolío(n)* (gl. *vim*) occur in the Luxemburg glosses.

284. *coguelt* (gl. *laniticium*, leg. *lanitium*, liv. 11). This seems a compound of the prep. *co* and *guelt*, a formation from *guolt* 'coma' supra No. 215. A connection with *guelt* = Corn. *gwels*, W. *gwelt* 'grass', 'straw', *gueltiociōn* Lux., is unlikely.

285. *demgwestim* (gl. *conflictum*).

286. *erseb* (gl. *arnubium*). The printed context is "Hieronimus autem dicit in conflictu ad Arnubium" (liv. 13).

demgwestim is probably (as Prof. Bugge suggests) misread for *demgwestim*, the infinitive of a verb compounded with *dem* = *do* +

^a cf. cuncta quae non habent pinnulas et squamas in aquis polluta erunt, Leviticus xi. 12. Wassersleben gives us 'in scamosos'! Conversely, in xxvii. 10, he prints 'Delamech' for De Lamech. In liv. 11 'corporum' should be 'porcorum'. Altogether these canons want re-editing.

am, Z². 906 and *guescim* cognate with Corn. *gweskel*, Ir. *faiscim* 'I squeeze' (*faiscis drecht dib il-lestar*, H. 2. 16, col. 385), and the mod. Br. *gwaska* supra No. 181.

erseb must, I feel sure, be a mistake for *Erneb*, the Breton form of *Arnobius*, just as *Emrys* is the Welsh form of *Ambrosius*. The occurrence in the same word of *e* as the umlaut not only of *a*, but of *o*, is interesting. See Nos. 6 and 7 supra.

287. *comco* (gl. *commestis*). The printed context has: "de carnibus comestis a lupis" (liv. 14). The gloss is only the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the prepositions *com* and *co*, Z². 902, 907. Compare W. *keuedac*, *cyfeddach* 'comessatio', 'epulae', Z². 851.

288. *air* (gl. *stragulentur*). The printed context has rightly: "Aves et animalia cetera, si in retibus *stragulentur*" (liv. 14). Our glossographer thought *stragulentur* connected with *strages* (supra No. 283) and glossed by the first three letters of a verb = W. *aeru*.

289. *centet* (gl. *penes temet*, liv. 15). This is = the prep. *cant* (later *gant*) 'cum' with the suffixed personal pronoun of the 2nd sg. The corresponding form in Mid. Br. is *guenez*, Corn. *genes*, W. *gennyf*, Z². 686, 685, where the *c* of *cant* has sunk to *g*, and its *t* has undergone nasal infection. See No. 256 supra.

290. *terdeuinetic* [ʔ] (gl. *desideratrix*, lv. 1). The reading of this gloss is wholly conjectural. Mr. Bradshaw thinks it may possibly be 'edeiunetic'. It begins with what may be either a long *e* or a *t* with the mark for *-ar*, *-er* over it. I would analyse it thus *t-er-de-vinetic*, where *t-er-de* are the three prepositions *do*, *ar*, *di*, and *vinetic*, from *minetic*, the pret. part. passive (here used in an active sense ^a) of a verb = the modern *menna*, W. *mynu* 'to will', cf. O.W. or *guor-di-minntius* (gl. *ab invito*) Z². 1057.

291. *cohuditioc* (gl. *gilosus*, i.e. *zelosus*, lv. 4). The last three letters are blurred. The printed context is: "De vitiis, quae adherent innocentiae puerorum....., maledicus, perjurus, gulosus, et cetera". I think this gloss must be intended for 'maledicus' not 'gilosus' (see No. 258 supra) and would compare the Corn. *cuhuthudioc* (gl. *accusator*) Z². 1081 W. *cyhudded* 'accusation' and the Ir. *co-sáit* 'complaint', (ex **con-soid-it*, root *spi*, Curtius G.E. No. 365 ?)

^a Compare the Old Welsh *bleu-porthetic* (gl. *lanigerae*), *uncenetticion* (gl. *solicanae*).

292. *lat* (gl. *crupulam*, leg. *crapulam*, lx. 2). This is the first syllable of some derivative like Ir. *laithirt* (gl. *crapula*) Ir. Gl. No. 266, from a word *lat* = the Corn. *lad* (gl. *liquor*), W. *llad* (*llawen gwyr uwch ben llad* 'men are merry over liquor', Llywarch Hen), Ir. *laith* 'ale'. The Latin *latex* is cognate: cf. Verg. Aen. i. 686, Ov. Met. 13, 653.

293. *co* (gl. *auguria*, lxiv. 1). These are the first two letters of *coilou*, *coelou* pl. of *coil*. See above, No. 159.

294. *bar* (gl. *caragios*).

295. *prin* (gl. *sortilegos*).

The printed context is: "Admoneo vos pariter, ut nullus ex vobis karagios et divinos et sortilegos requirat" (lxiv. 1). *Caragios* is the acc. pl. of *caragius* = Ducange's 'caragus, carajus, sortilegus, praestigiator qui *characteribus* magicis utitur, unde vocis etymon'. Our *bar* probably stands for *barou*, pl. of *bar* 'wizard' = Ir. *bar* .i. *sai* 'a sage', Corm. Tr. p. 28, .i. *saoi*, O'Cl. The root may be BHAR, whence φάρος 'plough', Zend *bar* 'to cut', Lat. *forare*, Ir. *berna* 'gap'. Compare for the step from 'cutting', ('separation', 'distinction', 'discerning') to 'knowing', Lat. *scio*, *de-sci-scere* cognate with *κείω* (for *σείω*), *cernere*, and German *gescheit*, Curtius G. E.^s, 110, and Ir. *sliucht* 'cognitio', root SLAK, whence Ir. *ro-selaig* 'cecīdit', Goth. *slahan*. So the Eng. *skill* is connected with *skiled* 'divided' Orm., 'it *skills* not' = 'it makes no distinction or difference', O. Norse *skilja* 'disjungere', *skilinn* 'distinctus' *skil* 'distinctio', *skilning* 'intellectus'.

prin is the first syllable of some derivative from a compound of *prenn* 'tree' Corn. and W. *pren*, Ir. *crann*, Lat. *quernus*: compare the W. *coel-brenni* in these phrases from Davies: *dewindabaeth coel-brenni* (gl. *sortilegium*), *dewin wrth goelbrenni* (gl. *sortilegus*). I conjecture that our gloss stands for *prinncoilocou*. See above No. 159.

296. *darleber* (gl. *phitonicus*, i. e., *pythonicus*, lxiv. 3, citing Leviticus 20, v. 27). Here *dar* stands for *tar* (gl. *uentrem*) Berne No. 38 (compare *dor-guid*, supra No. 26), and *leber* for *leberur* = W. *llafarwr* or *leberiat* = Corn. *leveriat* 'a speaker'. The word would thus mean 'ventriloquist'.

297. *lim* (gl. *acummine*, leg. *acumine*, lxiv. 7). This stands for **limter*, Mid. Br. *lemder* 'acumen' Cath. = W. *llymder* 'acumen', a derivative from *lem*, now *lemm* = W. *llym* 'acutus', Corn. *lym*. Hence also the O. Br. *lemhaam* (gl. *acuo*) Eutyech. Z^s. 1052 (where

it is wrongly given as a gloss on 'arguo') and the Cornish participle *lemmys* 'acutus' P. 160, 1., Cr. 2282.

298. *strom* — 'It may, perhaps, be *strum*', says Mr. Bradshaw, — (gl. *satus*). The printed context is: "Satius est nobis negligentes praemonere ... quam culpare quae sunt facta" (lxvi. 18). I cannot explain this gloss. Possibly the *s* is a relic of the verb subst. *is* supra No. 153, and the *trom* is the beginning of **tromach*, the comparative of *trom*, *trum* supra Nos. 75, 265. The gloss might thus mean 'it is more serviceable', which renders 'satus' well enough. Possibly, again, the *s* may be a relic of the negative prefix *es-* supra No. 22.

299. *fan* (gl. volubilis). The context is: "non debet omnis iudex volubilis esse in iudicio (lxvii. 1.)". See No. 125 supra.

300. *am. danica* (gl. in munimentis). The printed context is: "Dicit enim, in *munimentis* tantum saxorum sublimitatem habere immobilium" (lxvii. 7). We have here apparently a derivative in *-ic*, Z^a. 848, from the compound preposition *am-dan* 'circum', which occurs frequently in Welsh, as *am-dan*, *ym-dan* and *dan-ym* Z.^a, 674, 675. The pl. ending *-a* is obscure and probably incomplete. Should we read *amdancaiou*, and compare *caiou* (gl. munimenta) Lux.?

XI.—FROM THE 'SI QUIS HOMICIDIUM' CANONS.^a

301. *guedom* (gl. bidubio, c. vi, Wasserschleben's c. 4). *Bidubium* is a "ferramentum

... quod a quibusdam falcastrum vocatur, quod in falcis similitudine curvum sit". Vita S. Leufredi cited by Ducange. Our *guedom* is = O. Corn. *uiidimm* (gl. lignismus) Z^a. 1061. Probably, as Zeuss thought, derived from *guid* 'arbor', Corn. *guir*, W. *gwydd-en*, Ir. *fid* (*fidhba* gl. falcastrum), Gaul. *vidu*, A.S. *vudu*. For the termination cf. *tigom* 'naevi' Lux.

302. *deor* (gl. inpigerit, c. xiii, W.'s c. 36). The context is: "Si quis alapam inpigerit". Our gloss is the first four letters of some verb compounded with the preposition *do-*.

303. *compri* (gl. conparauerit).

304. *cosoin* (gl. consignatum).

The context is: "Si quis seruuum seruamque uel quamlibet pecodem uel rem aliquam *conparauerit* et ipso *consignatum*, si auctorem aut fide iussorem non habuerit de furto se nouerit componendum" (c. xxiii, W.'s c. 28).

^a Wasserschleben's Bussordnungen, pages 124 to 136.

Here *compri* seems the 3d sg. fut. conj. of a verb like W. *cymharu*, a loan from Lat. *comparo*. The termination *-i* is in Middle Breton *-e*, Z^a. 519, 520. A like ending in Welsh is mentioned by Evander Evans, who quotes *nodi* 'availed', *ceri* 'amabat', *ni weli* 'non videbat' ^a.

Cosoin is the first two syllables of **cosoinetic*, the pret. part. pass. of a verb borrowed, like W. *cyswyno* 'to acknowledge', from a low Latin **consegno*, Lat. *consigno*. The first four letters of another form of the same verb occur infra No. 319.

305. *gueltoguat* or *gueltogaat*^b (gl. fastigium, leg. fenisecium). The context is: "Si quis animalia uicini sui in herba commisserit intacta et manserint in ea pro[pter] animalia duo. unum scripulum reddat... Si in fastigium fueri[n]t capta pro[pter] animalia .iiii. scripulum unum reddat (xxv. W.'s c. 31)". The gloss may stand for *gueltoguat*. The *guelt-* here (like the O. Br. adj. *gueltiocion* 'fenosis', Lux.) must be connected with the W. *gwellt* 'grass', 'sward', Corn. *gwels*, the *toguat* may come from a root *tus*, Zend *tush*, *taoshayéiti* 'schädigen', 'scheeren' (Fick, i. 603), just as O. Br. *taguel*, W. *tawel*, come from the root *tus* 'to be silent'.

306. *adi* (gl. protullerit, var. lec. pertullerit. The context is "Si in messe quantum iurauerit dominus messis cum alio idoneo quidquid dampni protullerit sine dubio restauratur" (xxvi = Wassersleben's c. 14.) This seems the first two syllables of a verb compounded with the prepositions *at* and *in*.

307. *doit* (gl. sustullerit). The context is: "Si quis sustullerit de homine equum aut uacam vel quamlibet pecodem" (xxix = Wassersleben's c. 17). This stands for *doith*, and is, like *ar-uuo-art* (gl. fascinauit, Ms. Lat. 12021,) a *t*-preterite, from the infinitive *doen* 'to bear', 'to carry', (cf. *dodocetic* gl. inlatam, Lux.). So *deuz* 'venit' = W. *dueth*, and *aez* 'ivit' = W. *aeth* (ex **ag-t*). The root of our *doith* (ex **d-oc-t*, *d-ec-t* ?) is *AK*, one of the many related roots mentioned by Curtius G. E. No. 424. In meaning the Greek ἡνέχ-θην and Ch. Slav. *nes-ti* 'tragen' come nearest.

308. *maciat* (gl. poractur, leg. *machiat* gl. porcator i. e. porcarius). The context is: Si porci in grade (uel n [i. e. uel glande]) ingressi quotiens capti poractur reddat (xxx = Wassersleben's c. 19). This is the W. *meichiad* 'swineherd': cf. *mochyn*, Br. *móc'h*, Corn. *mogh* 'pigs', Ir. *mucc*, root *MUK*, Curtius G.

^a Studies in Cymric Philology, Arch. Cambrensis, April 1874, p. 117.

^b Mr. Bradshaw is not sure about the antepenultimate letter.

E. No. 92. Our gloss and the W. *meichiad* point to a root *MAK* or *MANK*. For the termination compare the Old Breton name *Uuin-mochiat* Cart. Red., p. 37, *Anbudiat*, ib. 19, and the Middle Breton *dibriat* 'eater', *quinyat* 'singer' cited Z¹. 839.

309. *emgruit* (gl. questionem). The context is: "Si quis ingenuus furtum fecerit et tustus [*var. lect. captus*] fuerit, ipse moritur nullus ab eis [*var. lect. a suis*] accipiat^a [*var. lect. habeat*] questionem (xxxiv. W.'s c. 21)". The glossographer may, thinks Mr. Bradshaw, have mistaken 'questionem' for 'quaestum', and we may, with much probability, equate our gloss with *amgruit* (gl. *lucrum*) in Ms. Lat. 12021. The word seems a compound of the prep. *am*, *em* and *gruit*, connected or identical with the Mid. Br. *groaet*, *graet*, *gret*, Corn. *gruys*, *gruys*, *guris*, Z¹. 597, the pret. part. passive of *ober* 'facere'. Compare Lat. *pro-fectus* 'profit', *sine profectu*, Ovid M. 9. 50.

310. *coso* (gl. *consignetur*, xxxvi. W.'s c. 23) see above No. 30.

311. *collot* (gl. *tributorio*, *var. lect. tributario*, xxxviii.). The Latin word means 'a tribute-gatherer': cf. *tributare* 'tributum exigere', *tributatio* 'exactio', Ducange. Our gloss must, therefore, stand for **colloter* = W. *cyllidur* 'tax-gatherer', a derivative from *collot* = W. *cyllid* 'tribute'. This is a loan from Lat. *collatio* 'a contribution', 'a gratuity collected for the emperor'.

312. *ar* (gl. *conpetiit*, *var. lect. conpetit*, *conpetere voluerit*, xlviii.) See above No. 3.

313. *scarat* (gl. *diudicari*, lii.). Cognate with W. *ysgar* 'separare', 'dissociare', Ir. *scarad*, Lith. *skiriù* 'scheide', and other words cited by Curtius, G. E. No. 76. For other examples of infinitives in *-at* see Z.² 535.

314. *mas* (gl. *stagnum i. e. stannum*). The context is: "Si quis ancillam alterius adprehenderit fugientem et a domino suo potuerit euadere stagnum ferrum merito accipiat" (lxvi. W.'s c. 59), the meaning of which I take to be that if any one arrests another's slave-girl who is running away with some chance of escaping, he is entitled to a certain weight of tin or iron. (In another ms. printed by Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, p. 134, we find "si ancilla fuit, libras ii merito accipiat, qui capit eam, si servus *III stagni libra unam accipiat*", where, for the figure and words italicised, we should apparently read *stanni libram*). Here *mas* is = the Old Corn. *mas*

^a Not in the Orleans manuscript. I have inserted it from the Bigot ms. quoted by Wasserschleben, p. 128, note 8.

(gl. metallum) Z^a. 1061, where Zeuss cites the Mid. W. *mas* in *kymeint ar vas twym* 'aeque ut ferrum candens' lit. 'the heated mass'. The corresponding Irish form is *mass*, acc. sg. *maiss n-oir* 'massam auri,' *Three Middle Irish Homilies*, p. 12, all borrowed from Latin *massa*, as used by Vergil, Aen. viii. 453, and Ovid, M. 11, 112.

315. *arluþ* (gl. pedicam). Context: "Si quis caballum alterius tulerit et in pedicam ruerit suum proprium reddere precipimus" (lxx W.'s c. 63). Here, as in Nos. 32, 96 and 131 supra, *p* seems to stand for A.S. *th*, and, if so, our gloss is a compound of the prep. *ar* and *luþ*, for *lud*, which is the root of the verb *arlu* (*das*) gl. proibuit, supra No. 124. As the prep. *ar* has lost initial *p*, Prof. Bugge equates our gloss with Skr. *pari-rodha* 'hemmung, zurückhaltung', which seems right, save that *ar-* is the equivalent of *puras* rather than of *pari*.

316. *er* (gl. capitali).

317. *cir* (gl. circo).

The (unintelligible) context is: "Si quis uillam uendere capitali in circo et uoluerit seu domum seu ortum potestatem habeat preter sepes gignunt messes et herbam" (lxx W.'s c. 64).

Here *er* probably stands for **erpennic* = late Corn. *arbednec* Lhuyd 224, W. *arbennig* 'capitalis', 'principalis' Davies, (Ir. *airchinnech*), from the prep. *ar* and *pennic*, a derivative of *penn* = Ir. *cenn*, and *cir* is for *cirk* borrowed from Latin *circus* as W. *cyrchell*, Ir. *circul*, *cercol*, from Lat. *circulus*.

318. *aam* (gl. nuto). Context: "Si quis legitime legis uoluntate patrum nuto filiam [*var. lect. nuptam filio*] iunxerit (lxxv.)". The glossographer here regards *nuto* as the abl. sg. of *nutus*. The *a* is the preposition used to indicate the ablative, the *am-* is the first syllable of the Old Breton equivalent of Welsh *amnaid* 'nutus', with which the Old Br. *enmetiam* (gl. innuo) and O. W. *enmeituou* (gl. nutus) Z^a. 1052, 1056 appear to be unconnected. See, however, Z^a. 896.

XII.—FROM THE 'MARINA ANIMALIA' CANONS, COMMONLY HEADED
'CANONES ADAMNANI.'

319. *guis* (gl. suilis, *leg. suilla*). The context is: "Caro suilis [*var. lect. suilla*] morticinus [*leg. -nis*] cras[sus uel pin]guis ut morticinum quo pinguescunt sues re[futa]nda (vi)." Here *guis*

stands for some adjective derived from *guis* = *gues* Cath., now *gwés*, *gwís*, Corn. *guis* (gl. *scroffa* 'a sow'), Ir. *feis* :

da sheanainm ar mhuic mhiadhaigh.
féis (*leg.* *feis*) is mada moirdhiamhair.*

gen. iomnocht *feise* i. croiceann muice 'a sow's skin,' Children of Tuirenn, ed. O'Curry, p. 200.

At the end of this piece is the subscription of the scribe beginning 'Iunobrus scripsit' etc. As Siegfried said of Pughe, the Welsh lexicographer, Peace to his stupid ashes!

* *Forus focul*, cited by O'Reilly s.v. *dreimne*. The couplet above quoted means "two ancient names for a worthy pig, *feis* and *mata* very vast".

INDEXES.

(The numbers are those of the glosses.)

I.—BRETON INDEX.

a prep. indicating the ablative
101, 109, 119, 123, 191, 238,
255, 318.
a, verbal prefix 203.
abredahez 238.
aa for ā 236.
a-co- 116.
a-com- 134.
acomloent 106.
ad- 22, 211.
ad-guo 151.
ad-i 306.
ad-mosoi 31.
ael 187.
aguetur 244.
ai umlaut of a, 22, 54.
aimscudetic (p) 22.
aior 187.
air 283.
air 288.
alo 41.
altin 267.
am 121.
am-danica (?) 300.
amneit 318.
ampar 35.
amsobe . . 117.
an- negative prefix 173, 280.
an- = Fr. en- 219.
Anbudiat 318.
an-guo- 173.
anno . . 83, 85, 86, 162.
anscantoc 280.
ansunietic (p) 219.
aqualostr (-lestr p) 77.

ar- 3, 99, 312.
arap-recl 266.
arcoguedol 135.
ard 104.
argant 34.
ardotas (?) 263.
arimnot 60.
arludas 124, arluth 315.
arthon 198.
attal 30, 156.
auoez 238.
aviel 187.

b for infected m 52, 172, vocal-
ised 64, 148, for p in loan-
words 223, from gv 165, bl
from ml 164, br from mr 168.
bar 294.
bat 272.
bed, bez 114.
bedis 218.
bedont 69.
Benitoe 133.
bidam (bidut p) 251.
bitat 165.
bit-panim 182.
bituer (?) 238.
Blaen 191.
blen 210.
bleoc 213, pl. bleocion 281.
blin s. 'fastigium' 191.
blin, adj. pl. bliniun 210.
blinder 268.
blot 65, 66.
boco 223.

boestol 277.
 boue, boe 219.
 brat 168.
 breinder 13.
 brientin 183.
 brois 218.
 brot 262.
 brothrac 235.
 bu 219.
 buch 278.
 bues 278.

c for ch 59, 169, 308.

cablus 192.
 campr 192.
 canap 192.
 cann 256.
 cantoeller 84.
 caul 21.
 cenem 130.
 centet 289.
 ceple 192.
 cerdor 212.
 cerpet, pl. cerpit 100.
 ch lost in inlaut 278.
 chapl 192.
 cirh 317.
 cis, quis, kfz 5.
 cisemin 277.
 ciuellenn 187.
 clut, clot 220.
 coat 98.
 coel 293.
 coelioc 159, 247.
 cogued 126.
 coguel 284.
 coguenou 19, 12.
 cohuditioe 291.
 col 21.
 colcet 233.
 colioc v. coilloc.
 collot 311.
 columpnenn 221.
 com- 150.

comairde 54. comarde 97.
 Comaltcar 228.
 comarguidit 58.
 com-co 287.
 comelia ... 228.
 comman, pl. commin 232.
 comnidder 24¹, 227.
 compri 303.
 condelch 207.
 contulet 178.
 cormo tar 91.
 corn 226.
 cosecr ... 254.
 cosoinetic 304, cosoiner 310.
 coson 87.
 cospitiot 171.
 cotoc 98.
 couarcou 228.
 coarchol 228.
 couen 72.
 couff 232.
 couled 137.
 Couuellic 228.
 crap, crapaf 160.
 creith, crezenn 27.
 crit, kridien 272².
 crochenn 278.
 cuzaff 22.

d for t 26, 195, 296; for th 149;
 for dy ex y 50, 136; from
 vowel-flanked t, 64, 75, 177,
 assimilated by n, 229.

dadl, pl. dalou 90.
 dampnaff 221.
 dan 195.
 darcenneti: ran (?) 17.
 darleberer 296.
 das, pl. desi 6.
 dastumi 6 n.
 decmint 145.
 dem ... 257.
 demguescim 285.
 de-or ... 302.

derch 61.
dermor 154.
desi *see* *das*.
di 229.
di- 128.
diaul 81.
diblo 9.
dibriat 308.
di-combit 250.
didan 195.
didanuudam 163.
di-et-eguetic 186.
diglo 148.
digridienner 253.
di-im-dam-guascam 181.
diliu 57.
dilu ... 269.
dilucet 36.
dindan 195.
dinoethi 13, 25.
dinouet 39.
dipr, pl. *diprou* 110.
dis 109.
discantaff 280.
dispriner 248.
distrit 105.
divempraff 192.
do- 129, 252, 270.
docordom-ni 221.
dodimenu 44.
do-guo-louit 80.
do-guor 37.
do-gur-bonneu 52.
doilux (?) 92.
doith 307.
domot 196.
dored 132.
dor-guidol 26.
dorn, *dornaff*, *dornat* 203.
do-ti-et-ue 261.
douohinuom 131.
droc 113.
dros, pl. *drosion* 230.
dutimener 44.

e from *i* 7, breaking of *i* 233, um-
 laut of *a* 6, umlaut of *o*, 286.
e 175.
egenn 155.
eidguinot 11.
eindric (?) 239.
eleuc 68.
eli .. 89.
eltroguen 20.
em-gruit 309.
emguer .. 141.
emsiu 139.
en 7, 61.
enbadou 272.
enbit 172.
endan 195.
en-derch 61.
enemdenna 75.
enmetiam 318.
er = *erus* 40.
er- 63, 82, 112, 271.
ercor 259.
erdirh 220, 147.
erguinit 48, 127, 152.
erie ... 175.
eriolim 76.
Erneb (?) 286.
erpennic 316.
es ... 53.
escis, *escus* 264.
espet 171.
estim 53.
esvezaff 22.
eu *ex* à 68, corresponding with
W. ei, 88, umlaut of *au* 88.
eules, *eulev* ? 88.
eureugou 155.
eusin 275.

f from *sp* 125.
faezaff 125.
fan 125, 299.
faziaff 125.
felch 125.

fleriot 231.
frec ... fregaff 15.
fon ... 241.

g lost between vowels 49, 106,
133, 164, 183, 194, 218, 229,
243, lost after l 110, and
before r 283, gu ex v 174,
186, 220, 301, g for c in
anlaut 234, 243.

gant 243.
glanet 255.
glin 264.
gluip, glebiat 189.
golchet 234.
gouhez 20.
goui 47.
goural 243.
gourren 273.
gourvenn 256.
goustad, gwestad 173.
gozro 199.
gro 243.
groaet, graet, gret 309.
gu ... 158.
guad 216.
guandal 112.
guascotenn 62.
gud 163.
gudcoguod 126.
gud-uaiol 206.
guedom 301.
gueffret 243.
guerg 190.
guelcet 234.
gueltioc 305.
gueltoguat 305.
guen v. coguenou.
guenez 289.
guenoc 229.
guerth 96.
guertham (P) 158.
guervell 170.
guescim 285.
guet 180.

gufor 10.
guid, guidol? 26.
guiliat 214.
guilpitoe 189.
guin, pl. guinion 246.
guinot 11.
guir- 74.
guirhter 190.
guis 319.
guo- 2, 10, 157.
guodcecion 201.
guoliat 215.
guomal 2.
guomone 249.
guomonim 38.
guorcercor 212.
guostl, gwestl 174, 185.
guoteguis 161.
guotric 242.
guotroit 199.
gupar 240.
guparol 209.
guparthol 208.
gupartholaid 149.
gur = vir 220.
gur 73.
gur-limnn 51.
gur-prit 95.
gurre ... 273.
gur-stlinnim 200.
gurthait 32.

h from s 107, prefixed to gloss-
es 71, 180, 200, arising from
accent, 17 n., 213 n.

Haelmoini 42.
haloc 107.
harzaff 198.
hegaff 15.
heor 187.
hoalat 28.
hoanenn 28.
hoari 28.
Hoiarscoit 42.

hu from v 28.
 huerzin 28.
 hueurer 28.
 huisic, pl. huisicou 28.
 hypmn 221.

 i umlaut of a, 171, of o, 50.
 i for in 64.
 î from â 45, 210, from û 264.
 iach 59.
 -iau for -iou 222.
 iecheti 103.
 iecol (leg. iethol ?) 118.
 iez 118.
 im 'in my' 58.
 im- 120.
 im-co 217.
 imcabloent 164.
 imfern 142.
 imguparthon 256.
 impossibl 202.
 in, the article, 84.
 in, prep. 205, 250, 263, 278.
 inaatoe 133.
 inlenetic 67.
 inmor 154.
 inpit 29.
 iñruetir 164¹.
 insoblin 164².
 int, in, prefix 113, 154.
 intoint, incoint (?) 72.
 introc 113.
 inu, inv ? 14.
 ir 46.
 is 153.
 it 133.
 itronn 20.
 ith 32.
 iuin 187.
 Iunobrus 320.

 j (written i and g) from t 155.

 laom 131.
 lat 292.

lau 70.
 lemm, lemder, lemhaam 237.
 les, lez 279.
 lestr 77.
 lien 78.
 lim 297.
 limn 51.
 limter 297.
 linn 205.
 linom 121.
 lis 279.
 liu 57.
 liusiu, lisiu 204.
 loed 205.
 loit, loet 18.
 lon 8.
 loois 218.
 lou oc 55.
 loui, loudien 269.
 louz 205.
 luc 36.

 m vocalised 70, 222. mm from
 mb, ngv 265.
 machiat 308.
 machtiern 169.
 macl ? mann ? 43.
 maer, pl. meir 79.
 mall 2.
 mas 314.
 meich 169.
 meir 79.
 melin 176.
 methlaom, mezz 131.
 minauet, menauet 1.
 milin 79, 260.
 milintric 179.
 Milon, Milun 179.
 min, pl. mined 136.
 môc'h 308.
 moe 187.
 moid ... 42.
 molin 176.
 mor- 101, in-mor 154.

Moruuet 180.
mormil 276.
motrep, mozreb 23,
muntul, montol 138.

n for nn, nd 229, lost before s
64, 87, 304. ng lost or
vocalised in inlaut 187.
na, neg. part. 50, 219, 221,
224.

nac 122.

nedo (P) 69.

neuidter 7.

ni 13, 14, 25, 148.

ni, pronom. suffix 1st pl. 221.

nigal 155.

niguid 50.

nit 'non est' 133.

nith 94, nit *for* nith, niz 24².

nouen 187, 255.

o from u, 4, 14, for oi, oe 25,
60, 98, 276.

ō from ā 25, 154, 222, 236, 274,
311; oo *for* ō 236.

ocr, pl. occrou 274.

oeu 111.

oferen 229.

oi from ē, 18, 42, 304.

olg, ol 132, pl. olguo 119,
olo 123.

onmaner 4.

oo *for* ō 236.

or, pl. orion 193.

ord 188.

ousor 212.

p in anlaut, lost 4, 11, 18, 70, 99,
119, 244, 315, p from mb 32,
131, 315, for b in loanwords
192, inserted between m and
n 221, from k, kv 95, 248, 295,
miswritten for th 32, 96, 131,
315.

panim 182.

peden 229.

pei (?) 225.

pi 140, pi *cogued* 140.

pinigen 155.

pis 142.

ploe, ploeys 218.

Ploilan 42.

Portitoe 133.

prenaff 248.

presant 108.

princoilioc 295.

prit 95.

pus ... poesaff 33.

queiniff 72.

quenderchell 207.

quil 264.

r for rr, rs 26.

rac- (gl. proferebat) 144.

rac- (gl. optimates) 146.

raclor 144.

rann 17.

rann 'pars', rannam 250.

rat 170, pl. *radou* 177.

razaff 16.

resit 16.

recl (P) 266.

ret 175.

rigl, riglion 258.

rim 45.

ro, pl. roiau 222.

rod 282.

rouanez 256.

rouejou 155.

s lost in anlaut before m, 1,
before l 51, before c 212,
from x in loanwords 204,
assimilated to r 26.

scal/ 102.

scal ... 267.

scantoc 280.

scarat 313.

scetam, squeiaff 155.

scrap, scrapat 160.
 siel, siell 49.
 silim, sellet 56.
 soeul 111.
 soezaff 64.
 songeal 219.
 soudan, souzan 64.
 sparfa 109.
 spoe 187.
 stlaon 187.
 stoeaff 187.
 straal 194.
 striz 105.
 strocat 115.
 strom 298.

t for th 24, 25, 60, 105, 149,
 198, 307, assimilated to l,
 228, to n 256, 289, rt ex rd
 149.

taguel 161, 305.
 tal 156, talont 167, at-tal 30.
 tar 91, 296.
 tardol, tarza 29.
 tegrann 250.
 tennam 75.
 tennoer 256.
 terdeuenetic (P) 290.

test, pl. testou 184.
 testament 179.
 testoner 93.
 tevell 161.
 th from ct 27.
 ti-gutre 71; ti-guotrou 55.
 toeaff 187.
 toguat (P) 305.
 toos 236.
 toreusit 275.
 tor-guisiol 26.
 treped 10.
 trocared 245.
 trom-dennas 75.
 tron ca issent (?) 237.
 tros . . . 143.
 trum 265.
 truscenn 29.
 tuat 122.

u for ui 14, 33, for u o 73, for
 ð 244.

Uinniaus 166.
 Uuinmochiat 308.
 unblot 65, 66.
 uo for ou 7, 119.
 Uuorocar 274.

x for s 92.

I — CORNISH INDEX.

- a-air 283.
 althou, altruan 30.
 anear 187.
 askednec 317.
 arzans 34.
 arghaf 4.
 askellen 102.

 bad, badus 272.
 baiol 206.
 benewez ..
 both 114.
 bleu, bleuak 213.
 blot, bloteit, blodon 66.
 blyn 191.
 bras 169.
 bredion 269.
 bryntyr 189.
 buch 278.
 bue 219.
 bys 182.

 cabel 192.
 cantuil 84.
 cas 201.
 chefsals 228.
 chuillics 159.
 cileet 233.
 clos 220.
 col 237.
 corn 226.
 crys 272.
 cabuthudloc 297.
 cuit 98.
 cuillioes 159.
 cantellet 173.
 cuthe 22.

 dathe 90.

 dege 145.
 dhe 220.
 diavel 81.
 born 203.

 askar 22.
 then 11.

 devrye 231.
 born 10.

 genes 289.
 glan 255.
 gleb 189.
 gols 215.
 gorre 273.
 govynnadow 52.
 grabel 160.
 growethe 37.
 grueten 253.
 gruyys, grueys, guris 309.
 guethe 216.
 guhit 20.
 guillihim 214.
 guis 319.
 guit 301.
 gur 220.
 gusigan 28.
 gutra 55.
 gwela 284, 305.
 gwesket 285.
 gwistel 174.
 gwynna 229.
 gwyrthy 74.

 halou 107.

 iach 59.
 inta 113.

kerd 212.
kevarwouth 58.

lad 292.
lau, lof, lëf 70.
les, lis 279.
lester 77.
leveriat 296.
lien 78.
lin 205.
lissiu 204.
liu, lyw 57.
lows 205.
luit, loys 18.
lym, lemmys 297.

mair 79.
mal 2.
mas 314.
maur 154.
medhecnaid 149.
melin 176.
meth 131.
modereb 25.
mogh 308.
mor-vil 276.
mygh-tern 169.

newyth 7, 50.
noith 25.

ol, 119.
onon, onan 4.
ord 188.

poys 33.
pren 295.
prenne 248.
prit, prys 95.
py 140.
pystyk, pystry, pystryor 124.

quesevin 277.

rag 142.
renniat 250.
resék 229.
reys 175.
ruifanaid 149.

sawthenys 64.
sols 112.
spys 171.
strail 194.
sumpl 164.
syilly 56.

taly 156.
tan 195.
tewel 161.
tist, test 185.
tor 26.
tribet 10.
trom 265.
tru 245.

uiidimm 301.
usion 275.

war, oar 73.
ymdenne 75.

III.—WELSH INDEX.

aer 283.
aeru 288.
aeth 307.
aidd 262.
alltraw 20.
allwys 41.

amdan, ymdan 300.
amnaid 318.
angor 187.
annoc 82.
anwiredd 141.
ar, er, yr 99.

arab 266.
arbennig 316.
argywedd 135.
ariant 34.
arthal, arthaw 198.
atdâl 30.

bedd 114.
behit, bet, byt 182.
blaen 191.
blawd 66.
bleu, blewog, blewyn 213.
blinder 210.
 rad 168.
braen 13.
breenhin, brenhin 183.
brwd 262.
bu 219.
buch, buwch 278.
buches 278.
bwyell, 223.
bwyst 276.
bychan 278.

cabl 192.
canhwyllyr 84.
casai, cassau 201.
cerbyd 100.
cerddaf, cerdded 212.
chwannen 28.
chwarae, gwarae 28.
Chwefror 28.
chwerthin, gwerthin 28.
chwysigen, gwysigen 28.
cilchet 233.
cisemic 277.
clod 220.
coedog 98.
coelbrenn 295.
cof 232.
coiliaucc 159.
colwyn 137.
coru 223.
crap 160.

creithen 27.
créu 243.
crit 272.
croen 278.
cuddio 22.
cwl 21.
cwyno 72.
cyfaillt, cyfeilliach 228.
cyfarth 198.
cyfarwyddyd 58.
cyfeddach 287.
cyfnither 24.
cyhudded 291.
cyllid, cyllidur 311.
cymyn, llythyr 238 n.
cynnal 207.
cynnhyrffu 217.
cynnullaw 178.
cynnhysgaeddu 6.
cyrchell 317.
cyson 87.
cyssegru 254.
cyswyno 304.
cywedd 140.

dan 195.
darogan 17.
das 6.
datl 90.
decum, degymmu 145.
defawd 196.
diawl 81.
dibr 110.
difanw 44.
diguormechis 169.
dinéu 39.
dinoethi 13.
diwreiddiau 253.
drwg 113.
dueth 307.
dwrn, dyrnu 202.
eidion 155.
eilod, eilw, eilyw 88.
eiriol 76.

ëisin 275.
elain 68.
elldrewyn 20.
Emrys 286.
enmeituou 318.
erchi 3.
ergyr 259.
esgarant 22.
esgus 264.
etin 11.

ffaw 222.
fflair 231.
ffon 241.
ffwrn 10.

gennytt 289.
glân 255.
go- 10 note.
godrig 242.
godro 199.
gofun 38.
gofyn 52.
gord 188.
gorwedd 37.
goual, gofal 2.
guichr 190.
gulip 189.
gwaethaf 216.
gwallt 215.
gwantan 248.
gwarth 96.
gwasgu 181.
gwaudd 20.
gwd 126.
gwellaif 214.
gwellt 284, 305.
gwerth 74.
gwerthu 158.
gwnaeth 60.
gwreiddyn 253.
gwr 220.
gwydd 126, 206.
gwydden 301.
gwynu 229.

gwystl 174.
halawg 107.
hf 64.

iach 59.
iaith, leithon 118.
is 153.
istlinnit 200.

lau, llaw 70.
llad 292.
llais 88.
lleisw 204.
llestr 77.
llewic 106.
lliein 78.
lliw 57.
llwyd 18.
llyfn, llyfnu 52.
llym, llymder 297.
llys 279.
llynn 205.
lo 218.

mâch 169.
Maelan 218.
magl 43.
mann 43.
mas 314.
mawr 154.
meichiad 308.
melin 176.
menntaul 138.
merion 79.
mêth 131.
mil 276.
modryb 23.
morfil 276.
mynawyd i.
mynu 290.

neguyt 50.
newydder 7.
neidio 155.
nid 133.
nith 24.

ol 119.	tawel 161, 305.
parth 149.	ter- 275.
pren 295.	tewi 161.
presennol 108.	torr 26.
pryd 95.	trawsedd 143.
prynu 248.	trig 179.
pwysu 33.	trigo 242.
	Tringad 218.
rhaid 175.	trugaredd 245.
rhan 250.	trwm 265.
rhaw 222.	trybedd 10.
rhed 132.	tyst 185.
rheu, rheuedd 164.	
rhif 45.	uffernol 142.
rhwd 282.	un 4.
	us 275.
sêl 49.	
swilt 111.	ynddrwg 113.
swml 164.	ynfyd 172.
syllu, sylwi 56.	ysgallen 102.
sywino 139.	ysgar 313.
	yspaid 171.
talw 156.	ystrail 194.
tarddawl 29.	ystwng 187.

IV.—IRISH INDEX.

adaigim 133.	baramail 209.
adcomaltar 228.	béist 276.
airchinnech 316.	berna 294.
airdirc, erdirc 220.	bí 223.
alt 228.	biáil 223.
anaim 14.	bíth, ro-bíth 165.
ar, air 99.	bláth 66.
ár 283.	bóc 223.
arco 3.	bolg 119.
archóitím 135.	brén 13.
ard 104.	brolach 223.
ardithe 263.	brothrach 235.
argat 34.	bruth 262.
atboind, adbonnar 52.	
bar 294.	cais 201.
	carpat 100.

ceird 212.
 céil 159.
 cerdd Chuind 149.
 cia 140.
 ciad 98.
 circul, cercol 317.
 cfs 33.
 cloth 220.
 coibnes 19.
 coindelbáthad 36.
 cóinte 72.
 coisecrad 254.
 col 2.
 colcaid 233.
 commaid, comad 250.
 corn 226.
 cosáit 291.
 crann 295.
 crecht 27.
 crenim, críthid 248.
 crith 272.
 croccenn 278.
 cúil 264.
 culian 137.
 cuman, cuimhne 232.
 dál 90.
 dechmad 145.
 dais 6.
 derc 61.
 desert 149.
 dínochtaim 13.
 díscart 149.
 do-airb 118.
 doaurchaim 17.
 doraid 132.
 dorímu 45.
 droch 113.
 elit 68.
 én 11.
 erchor, irchor 259.
 erchóit 135.
 errach 96.

faiscim 285.
 fasgadh 181.
 feis 319.
 fer 220.
 ferb 96.
 fid, fidba 301.
 find 229.
 ffne 246.
 fliuch 189.
 folt 215.
 for 73.
 format 256.
 fréim 253.
 glún 264.
 gníim 60.
 grabbad 160.
 fcc 59.
 inga 187.
 ingor 187.
 inmar, inmaire 154.
 is 153.
 laaim 131.
 laith, laithirt 292.
 lám 70.
 legad 106.
 lenim 67.
 les, lis 279.
 lestar 77.
 liath 18.
 lín 78.
 linn 205.
 lóon, lónaichthe 8.
 maer 79.
 maraim 14.
 mass 314.
 máthir 23.
 már 154.
 menad 1.
 mfl 276.
 milide 179.
 mong 187.
 mrath, mraithemnacht 168.

mrug 168.
mucc 308.
muilend 176.

necht 24.
núe 7 50.

obaim 118.
oinmid 172.

or 193.
ordd 188.

pés-bolg 33.
pisóc 142.
píss 33.

ráma 220.
rann m. 17.
rann f. 'part' 250.
rath 170.
reclugud 266.
rith 132.
rot 282.

sail (gl. labe) 107.
salach 107.
scarad 313.

ro-selaig 294.
selg 119.
selg 'spleen' 125.
sellaim 56.
seula 49.
slemain 51.
sliucht 294.
sluindim 200.
sonn 241.
sorn 10.
soud 139.
srengaim 115.

tairchital 17.
tarr 26.
tech 250.
tó 161.
tóib 122.
tongad 187.
tróg 245.
trumm 265.
trusce 29.

uain 244.
uathad 244.
ucht na dernainne 70,

V.—OLD CELTIC INDEX.

Arduenna 105.
Aremorica 99.
Argentoratum 34.
brivationm 142.
bulga 119.
carnon (κάρον) 226.
Catamantaloedis 138.
Glana 255.
Iactus 118.

loga 218.
Mantala 138.
mâros 154.
novios 7, 50.
Petromantalum 138.
ver 212.
Veragri 283.
vidu 301.
vo 2.

VI.—LATIN INDEX.

acer 274.
 acitamentum, acutamentum 110.
 ancora 187.
 andron 90.
 angelus 187.
 ardor 263.
 argentum 34.
 artus 228.

 bajulus 206.
 bestia 276.
 bidubium 301.
 bucetum 98.

 candela (*cantēla) 84.
 carpentum 100.
 cavilla, cabilla 192.
 cingulum 187.
 circus, circulus 317.
 collatio 311.
 comparo 303.
 consecro 254.
 consigno (*consegno) 304.
 consonus 87.
 cornu 226.
 culcita 233.
 curtus 221.
 custos 22.

 decimae 145.
 deglubo 148.
 deliciae 92.
 denudo 13.
 desciscere 294.
 diminuo 44.
 districtus 105.

 erus, herus 40.
 espatium 171.
 est 153.
 evangelium 187.
 excuso 264.
 exemplum 164 n.
 exuo 186.

fabula, fari 117.
 fama 222.
 fidus = pythius 26.
 flos 66.
 fodio, fossa 114.
 forare 294.
 fragrare 231.
 furnus 10.

 gilosus 258, 291.

 induo 186.
 insquamosus 280.

 jacio 118.

 latex 292.
 lino 67.
 linum 78.
 liveo, lividus, livor 57.
 lixivium 204.
 locus 36.

 macula 43.
 margo 168.
 major 79.
 massa 314.
 mater 23.
 medica 42.
 mendum 43.
 mensa, mensura 249.
 meretricium 179.
 mina 136.
 molendinum 176.
 mora, moror 14.
 motulo 157.

 neptis 24.
 Novius 50.

 ora 193.

 palma 70.
 paradisus 223.
 parere 209.
 pauco 223.

paucus, paulus 244.
 pax 223.
 penna 11.
 pensare 33.
 piccus 223.
 pilax 279 n.
 pix 223.
 porcus 258.
 preces 4.
 profectus 309.
 prologus 223.

 quernus 295.
 quis 140.

 radix 253.
 ramus 222.
 ratum 170.
 regentes 256.

 scalpellum 267.
 scio 294.
 sedatium 74.
 siccatorium 279.
 sigillum 49.
 solta, soltus 111.
 somnio 219.
 spatior 126.
 spatium, espatium 170.
 spongia 187.
 stimulus, *stumulus 164.

stragulum 194.
 strictus 105.
 stringo 115.
 subitaneus, subitare 64.
 sucula 139.
 super 73.

 taxa 236.
 tegere 250.
 templum 164 n.
 tentorium 256.
 testamentum 197.
 testis 184.
 tollo 138.
 trahere, tragere 199.
 trans 143.
 tricari 242.
 tripes 10.

 unguen 265.
 unguentum 187.
 unguis 187.

 vadium 180.
 *Vebrarius 28.
 vello 28, 214.
 venatus 11.
 vereor, verenda 96.
 vesica 28.
 vinea 246.
 xancto 92.

VII.—ROMANCE INDEX.

agrafe 160.
 amparar, emparar, s'emparer 35.

 badare 272.
 barat 168.
 camarade, camerata 54.
 coite 233.
 échantillon 280.
 ensongier 219.

flair 231.

 grappare, grappin 160.
 laid 205.
 lisière 179.

 mielga 42.

 paraître, parere 209.
 pazzo 272.

pialla 223.

soldo, sueldo, sol, sou 112.

songer 219.

tas 6.

tasse 236.

traire 199.

VIII.—GREEK INDEX.

ἄγρα 283.

ἄγω 133.

ἄθλον 174.

αἶθος 262.

ἀλίνην 67.

ἄντι- 113.

αὔλος, αὐλημα 88.

δῆρις 132.

δύς- 132.

ἔλσφος 68.

ἐλάω 131.

ἐστί 153.

ἔτι 30.

ἡνέχθην 307.

θέμις 196.

ἰάομαι 59.

κείρω 221.

κείω 294.

κεύθω 22.

κλυτός 220.

κραυγή, κραυγός 243.

κτείνω 155.

λάσιος 215.

λίμνη 205.

λίαν, λιτί, λῖτα 78.

μέλια 179.

μῆλα 276.

παλάμη 70.

πάρος 99.

παῦλα, παῦρος 244.

πέτμαι 11.

πλωτός 8.

πόρκος 258.

ρίζα 253.

σκύλαξ 137.

σπλάγχχον 125.

στραγγύω 115.

τάλαντα 138.

τέγος 55, 250.

τέλος 30.

τίς 140.

ὑπέρ 73.

ὑπό 10.

φάρος 294.

φημί 118.

φρέαρ 262.

ὠθέω 163.

IX.—SANSKRIT AND ZEND INDEX.

ajāmi 133.
ati 30.
Z. aparaodhayēiti.

ishayati 59.

upari 73.

krīnāmi 248.
kshati 155.

gavyā 136.
gudh 22.
glāna 45.

ghāta 165.

tush, tushyati 161.
Z. tush, taoshayēiti 305.
trshu 26.
tolayāmi 138.

darç 220.
dāra 132.
dhāman 196.

navya 7, 50.

pattrin 11.
parirodha 315.
palita 18.
puras 99.
praçna 4.

Z. bar 294.

māna 138.

rājā 45.
rodha 124.

sakrt 95.
spaç 125.

X.—TEUTONIC INDEX.

Eng. barratry.
bauths 272.
brunna 262.
dóms 196.
Nhg. drängen 265.
AS. dros; *Nhg.* drusen 230.

faúra, faúr 99.
favai; *Eng.* few 44.
Ohg. fēdara 11.
Ohg. folgon; *AS.* folgian; *ON.*
fylgja 119.

Dan. foraar 96 n.
fraihna 3.
Nhg. frühling 96 n.

gataíra 132.
Nhg. geschieht 294.
AS. gōd; *Nhg.* gout; *O. Sax.*
goud, 201.

haithi 98.
hauru 226.
ON. heill 159.
Ohg. hlud 220.
Ohg. Hlûtra; *Nhg.* Lauter 255.

AS. hridhe, hridhian 272.

hrukjan 243.

A.S. hýðan 22.

Ohg. jehan 118.

ON. jötunn 26.

Ohg. krapfo 160.

Ohg. leid 205.

lithus 228.

marka 168.

naqvaths 13.

niujs 50.

Eng. quilt 233.

Nhg. regen 164.

Nhg. ritte 272.

Ohg. rost; *Eng.* rust.

Ohg. salo 107.

skathjan 155.

O. Sax. scrftan 212.

ON. skil, skilja, skilnfng 294.

Eng. skill, skills, 294.

slahan 294.

Ohg. slango; *Nhg.* Schlange 187.

spinnan, spann 125.

AS. tass 6.

O. Sax. torht 220.

ON. thröngtr, thröngva 265.

O. N. thurs 26.

vairths; *Eng.* worth 74.

vaúrts, 253.

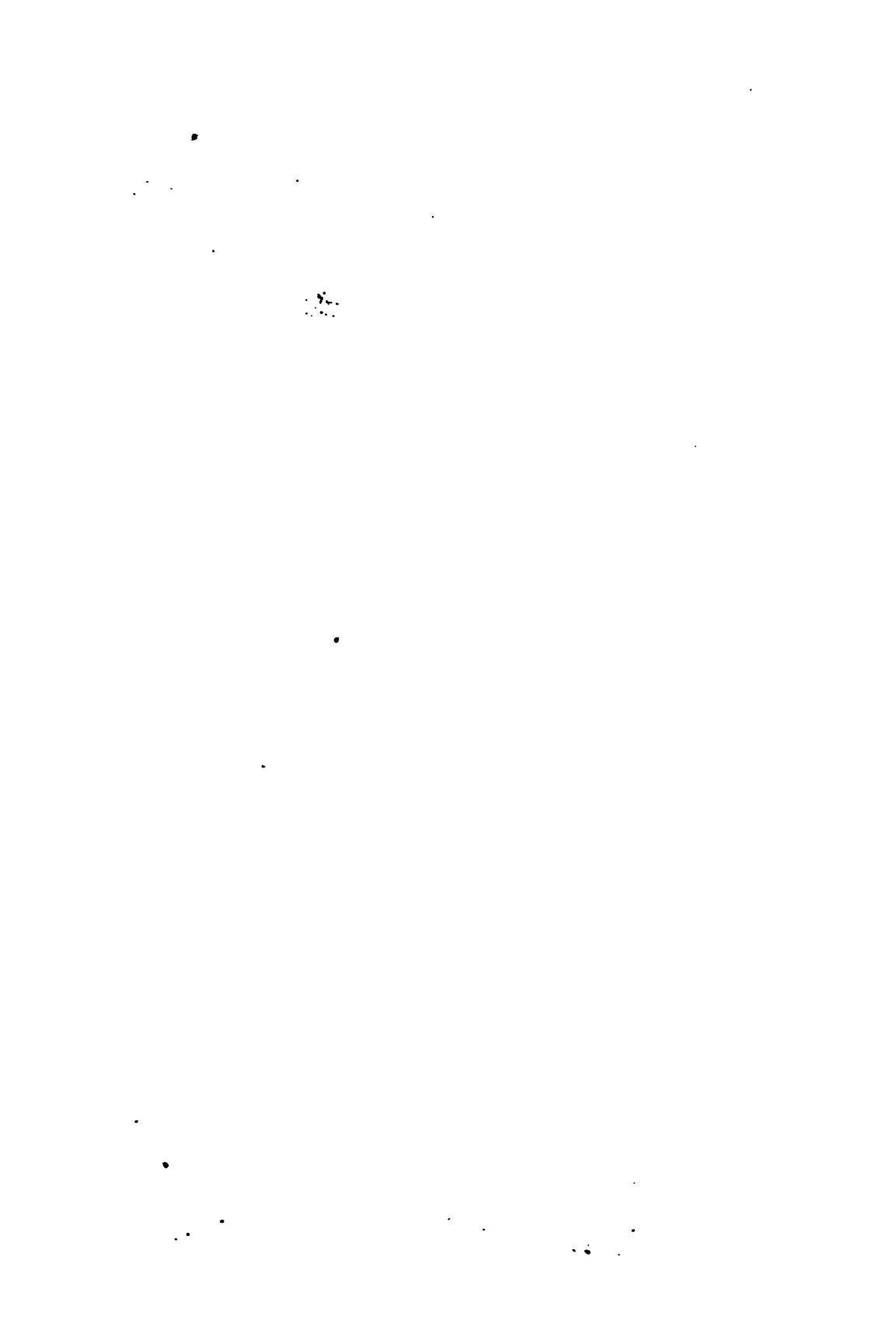
Nhg. wanze 28.

Nhg. wette 180.

AS. wine; *O. Sax.* vini; *ON.*,
vine 19.

AS. vudu; *Eng.* wood 301.

Ohg. zoraht 220.

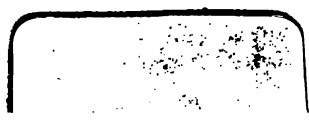




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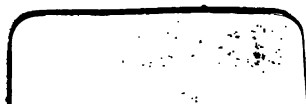
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